The World Tomorrow

NOVEMBER, 1930

RECENT GAINS in JAPAN

Articles by

INAZO NITOBE, ARTHUR JORGENSEN, SHERWOOD EDDY, and TATSUNOSUKE UEDA

Trumpet to the People

The Story of Oswald Garrison Villard

Labor and the Richest Hill on Earth

CHARLES E. SEBOLD

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIII NOVEMBER, 1930 NO. 11

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; $2 per year; Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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What War Does to the Minds of Children
S. Ralph Harlow

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII November, 1930 No. 11

Editorials

Japan's Ratification

The ratification of the London Naval Treaty by Japan is important not merely because that agreement now comes into force, but even more because it represents a thrilling victory for the democratic and pacific forces of Japan over the reactionaries and militarists of that land. The latter exerted themselves to the utmost and were defeated. A few years ago for a Japanese cabinet to take issue with the ranking officials of the army and navy was to run the almost certain risk of having the government overthrown. The Privy Council, an anachronistic survival from the old oligarchy, has been seriously undermined by its opposition to the treaty and will probably be forced to undergo a drastic reconstruction of its functions. The press and public opinion have been solidly behind the government in urging ratification and have now registered a notable advance for democracy and peace.

From a Pro-Gandhi Missionary

Wide publicity has been given to the case of Ralph R. Keithahn, a missionary in South India who, after governmental pressure had been brought to bear upon his colleagues, was requested to resign on the ground that he had not observed the pledge of neutrality demanded of missionaries. We are now in receipt of a letter from a young American missionary in India who vigorously criticizes the policy of neutrality during these days of crisis. His words are significant because they represent the convictions of a rapidly increasing number of younger missionaries. "I hope it will be possible" he writes, "for some of us to correct the impression which has gone abroad that we missionaries are forsaking India in her hour of greatest need. We Christians prostituted our religion during the years of the war and thrust the cross into the trenches. Are we to do it again? We have come here, I believe, to serve Indians, not Britishers or other foreigners. We have come here, I am sure, to build up a people, not to help tear down or keep down. Perhaps the time has come for us publicly and unanimously to dissociate ourselves from that doubtful pledge of neutrality and to condemn in no uncertain terms the un-Christian atrocities practiced by the government in these days of strife." The most tragic mistake the missionaries of India could make would be to identify themselves with the British officials in such a way as to create a permanent chasm between them and the followers of Gandhi.

The British F. O. R. Speaks Out

At this critical period in Anglo-Indian relations, it is refreshing to read the pronouncement of the Arley Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from which the following citations are taken: "There is a clear demand, which has now become general in India, for immediate dominion status. The forthcoming Round Table Conference neither can nor should hope for success with any less result. The Fellowship of Reconciliation believes that it is impossible, even by force of arms, for one nation to govern another against its will. Neither good intentions nor apparent material benefits can justify the attempt, and our country would be wrong to try to maintain its position in India by force. While present relations continue, matters can only grow worse; and we are convinced that open violence is only being held in check by the moral leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We have tried to understand more fully the meaning of his work for India and have come to see in it the expression of a very wonderful method. It is immeasurably nearer to our ideal than any political method yet attempted, and brings a new hope into the affairs of men. We realize how far more pure and selfless are his actions than our own achievements. . . . Let us be willing to identify ourselves more fully with the Indian people in their suffering and in their claim for freedom. We join them in their claim. If their freedom should bring grave economic loss to our country and to ourselves, that is but a part of the price we must pay . . ."

If by some political miracle the Round Table Conference could be made to function in the spirit of this utterance, a new day would dawn for India and the British Commonwealth. Any conclusion of the conference that falls short of immediate dominion status for India, with mutually acceptable safeguards covering the period of transition, will provoke a crisis with immeasurable possibilities of disaster.

The American Political Scene

If one had but a single word to describe the contemporary scene in the political life of America, it would not require much thought to choose the word. It is "hypocrisy." One looks in vain for a sincere discussion of any of the vital problems which face the American people. The two old parties vie with one another in their insincerities. Ruth Hanna McCormick is trying to win a Senatorial election in Illinois by being wet and dry at the same time. Mr. Tuttle hopes to become governor of New York by appearing as wet as Mr. Roosevelt in New York City and not quite so wet in the agricultural counties. Mr. Roosevelt is trying to preserve his reputation as the champion of honesty in government and yet not arouse the ire of Tammany chieftains upon whom he must depend for reelection. These same chieftains have been caught in a series of scandals which for political mendacity would compare favorably with the ripest fruits of boss Tweed's day.

Mr. Hoover becomes loquacious and butters the world with unction, but where do we find him giving honest consideration to the problems which the nation faces in this period of economic depression? The best he can do is to point with pride to the conference of financial and industrial leaders which he called at the beginning of the depression and to assert that matters would be much worse but for this heroic action. Meanwhile a goodly portion of the great men who promised him not to reduce wages failed to keep their promise. Henry Ford publishes our shame to the world by advising Englishmen not to give publicity to their unemployment figures as it lowers morale. He thinks our American policy of forgetting about unemployment is better. The unemployed who look forward to a winter of destitution must find it difficult to escape complete despair and cynicism as they drink in this wisdom from political and industrial leaders.

The fact is that we have reached the lowest possible level of political morality. With neither of the major parties standing squarely for any principle whatever, the whole political struggle has been reduced to a sordid scramble for office with a high premium upon demagogy. The state of the public conscience and intelligence seems to have sunk so low that even Mr. Kelley's revelations of gross irregularities in the Department of the Interior fail to arouse public indignation. From the perspective of this day the Rooseveltian period, with all its romanticism and failure to meet basic economic issues, seems like a lost paradise. Here and there, to be sure, small groups of workers and intellectual leaders are trying to bring about a new and more honest political alignment, but the general public remains apathetic. Several years of misery may be required to restore a nation, which has been revelling in a joy ride of greed and plenty, to its senses.

Secretary Hyde's Dangerous Course

It is questionable whether the present Administration has done anything more thoroughly irresponsible and deserving of more unqualified censure than to permit Secretary Hyde to make his foolish charges of short-selling against the Soviet trading corporation. The fact that the Russian organization conducted itself as do all other grain traders who try to protect themselves from a fluctuating market, and that the amount of wheat sold was infinitesimal compared to the sales made in a single day on the Chicago exchange has forced even those financial interests which lack the slightest degree of sympathy for Russia to disavow the inept Secretary of Agriculture. It may be assumed therefore that nothing serious, so far as the peace of the world is concerned, will result from this incident. But it is very disquieting to realize that a supposedly responsible politician was willing to inflame popular prejudice for the sake of obscuring the Administration's failure to help the farmer.

The incident can not be seen in its true gravity until the probabilities of the next few years are envisaged. The Soviets are beginning to produce grain on something like the pre-war scale and may be expected to exceed the pre-war export figure in constantly larger amounts in the coming years. This grain will be poured upon a glutted market, and will inevitably be regarded as a disturbing factor in the already badly confused economic situation of the Western world. The fact that the Soviets buy machinery with the money paid for the grain does not seem to weigh heavily with our pseudo-statesmen. Nations today lack the slightest degree of mutuality in their feelings with each other. We are quite willing to sell machinery to the Russians, but we regard them as enemies if they want to sell us wheat.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Russians, while primarily interested in selling grain in order that they may buy machinery, are not unmindful of the disturbance which their rising production creates and are not unwilling to use their growing economic power as a weapon against what they believe to be the tottering structure of capitalism. Furthermore, war with the capitalistic world is, according to their philosophy, not a probability but an inevitability and all such incidents as those created by Secretary Hyde will be used assiduously by the Communist press to prove to the Russian populace that an ultimate war is inescapable. Naturally the Russians do not want war now. They are not ready for it. But they are preparing for it.

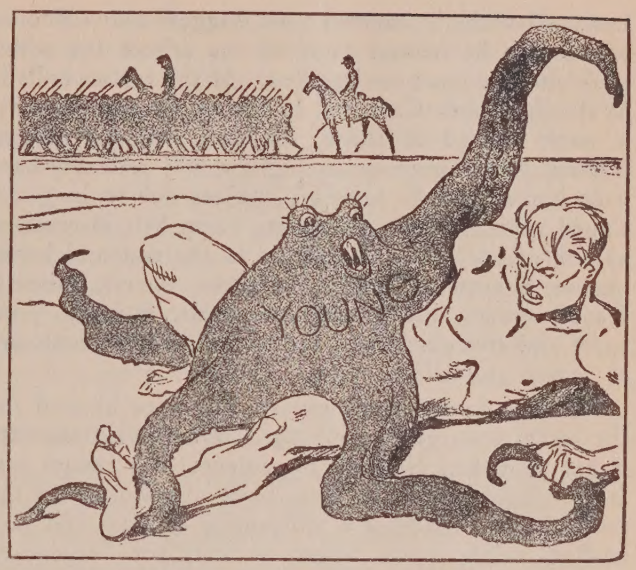
In such circumstances those who are really interested in peace and understand its problems must be constantly on the alert lest popular prejudice be needlessly excited and a situation arise in which the

world will once more drift confusedly into a terrific conflict. To judge by the quality of statesmanship which Secretary Hyde revealed, undoubtedly with the approval of the President, the present Administration is not adverse to playing with fire for the sake of gaining a very momentary and very dubious political advantage. Nothing has happened for a long time which casts such a vivid light upon the quality of statesmanship by which the unhappy people of our modern era are being led. If we can not do better than that, we may be sure the agonies of past decades will have been fruitless, and another decade will find us demonstrating once more that we do not have the intelligence to conduct the vast scheme of economic inter-relations which make up western civilization without periodic and ultimately suicidal conflicts.

Which Way Germany?

The indications are that the parliamentary parties of Germany are patching up some kind of peace so that republicanism will be able to withstand its foes at least during the coming winter. Whether this will be done by mutual concessions on the part of the socialists and anti-socialists, thus permitting a parliamentary majority to emerge, or whether it will be accomplished by a semi-dictatorship under Hindenburg will probably be known before these lines reach the reader. If the latter plan should be adopted, it will simply mean that the left and right parliamentary groups would prefer to have a compromise taxation program enacted by a presidential decree rather than to pass it by parliamentary vote. In any case, probability now is that sufficient concessions have been made on each side to protect parliamentarism for a time. Naturally the projected course does not solve any fundamental problems. Nor can they be solved so long as Germany has to produce a half billion dollars worth of wealth for export across national boundaries. The majority of the German people, conscious of the injustice of the reparation load, will continue to attribute their ills to it. And their interpretation has the merit of being at least partially true.

It is gratifying that even Wall street bankers return from Europe convinced that a more generous policy on the part of America is necessary to save orderly government in Germany. The fact is that all the parliamentary parties of Germany carry the burden of having signed the various international undertakings by which peace was established but by which also Germany has been made subject to Europe and the United States for two generations to come. The heavier the load of her economic servitude becomes the more will the parties who are responsible for the present situation suffer at the hands of the fascists and the communists. It is not without significance that fascism is daily growing more dangerous than communism. The socialist and other republican parties have always rested upon the assumption that the Western world would gradually grow reasonable and not insist upon her pound of flesh. If she disappoints these hopes of the parliamentary parties and stamps them as sentimentalists in the eyes of the German people, they will inevitably lose their political strength. In that case, either fascism or communism will come to power and all the self-righteous people of our world will say, "We always thought these Germans could not be trusted."



The Young Plan

The evil ones have gone, but the evil lingers on.

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

Black Shirts and Lynching

Amid the unrest and reaction that have characterized the present year, it was inevitable that Negro-white relations in America should be caught in the general backwash. The increase of lynchings to a number double that of last year is the best evidence of this reaction—and the worst. However, it is doubtful whether the traditional attitudes of the lynchers have undergone any fundamental change for the worse. What seems more probable is that certain influences as well as contemporary conditions have merely brought these attitudes to the surface or stirred them into hostile action.

Chief among these influences is the present economic depression. The two highwaymen lynched in Mississippi, the alleged Negro bank robber shot to death in Darien, Georgia, and the street-car bandit and murderer who narrowly escaped lynching in At-

lanta, all within a month's time, suggest that economic stress may lie behind some of the crimes for which mob violence has been invoked. If the cotton mills in Walhalla, South Carolina, had been running six days a week instead of three, the men who last spring lynched Allen Green at midnight would probably have been home in bed. General idleness due to long-continued rains in the surrounding farm belt is credited as one of the causative factors in the riot and lynching at Sherman, Texas. Idleness, unrest, anxiety, frayed nerves due to unemployment, financial pressure, and the pinch of poverty are hardly conducive to reason and self-restraint.

In some quarters communism has been blamed for the recent upsurge of lynchings. Whether in any case it has provoked Negroes to violence, one cannot say. Its protagonists, to be sure, have overlooked no opportunity to broadcast a philosophy of class and race conflict, calling upon Negro workers for "organized mass resistance to white ruling-class terrorism." Negroes are naturally conservative and patient, however, and it appears unlikely that this propaganda has as yet exercised any great influence upon their conduct.

White people, on the contrary, have taken the communist threat more seriously. It was largely the interracial activities of communists in Gastonia and Atlanta that afforded a pretext for the organization of the "Black Shirts." In all the meetings of this organization the communist creed of political, economic, and social equality for Negroes was noisily denounced. The uninformed were led to believe that the reds were about to capture the whole structure of white civilization and turn it over to their Negro neighbors. One can imagine the effect of this sort of thing upon the mass of underprivileged whites, already obsessed with a sense of economic and social competition from Negroes.

Fortunately there is another side to the picture. Never have lynchings been condemned so universally and vigorously throughout the South—by editors, ministers, church groups, civic organizations, and good citizens in general. Furthermore, arrests have been made in a number of the cases and no less than fifty persons now await trial as participants in these crimes. In the light of past experience, this fact is revolutionary. The Black Shirts' present state of collapse, due to the pressure of public disapproval, is another encouraging sympton. With all its flamboyant appeals to patriotism, Americanism, and white supremacy, the movement has won no stable following. This is quite in contrast to the vast political influence and pseudo-respectability enjoyed by the Klan in its palmy days. The defeat of Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina, who based his campaign for reelection on a blatant defense of lynching, is perhaps the most encouraging evidence of the progress of Southern opinion, while that of ex-Governor Slaton of Georgia, who insisted on dragging the Negro into the senatorial race, is another straw in the wind.

Not since reconstruction days has the South faced as serious a challenge as it does today. But among the more liberal minded of its religious and civic leadership there is enough of vitality and power to make one hopeful of the ultimate outcome.

Defense à la Mode

The R. O. T. C. takes on new glory this fall and the country is to be defended by brighter uniforms, complimentary sabers, more polo, new military fraternities, and smiling girl sponsors. The old military uniforms, which were good enough for two million soldiers in the war to end war, are being replaced at many schools by smart new forty-dollar outfits with long trousers, roll collars, and the coat lapels faced with light blue. The Princeton R. O. T. C. polo team has been playing for the Second Corps Area Commander's Cup. The University of Missouri polo team prospects are the "best in the history of the school, and an extensive trip is planned." Artillery horses which the boys can ride, or take their girl friends riding, still sweeten drill at Iowa State College. A year ago there were 1773 horses and 14 mules attached to 25 R. O. T. C. units. May we suppose that none of these animals were killed in action on the college battle-front? On Armistice Day the Elks will present 15 sabers to the cadet officers of the R. O. T. C. unit of the Michigan College of Mines and Technology. The Navy competes with the Army not only in football but in the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps by offering an attractive summer cruise. Units from Yale, Harvard, Georgia School of Technology, Northwestern University, and the universities of Washington and California, for their 1930 cruise, were taken on one of three battleships—the Wyoming, the Mississippi, or the New York. Another honorary military fraternity, in addition to Scabbard and Blade, has been organized at the University of Cincinnati. The battle of the sabers is on.

The map published elsewhere in this issue reminds us that 142,000 boys are enrolled in the War Department courses in 318 institutions representing every state in the Union. That such an expenditure of money (more than ten million dollars), personnel, and facilities should be replaced by a more adequate preparation of college students for citizenship is becoming the conviction of an increasing number of people especially among educators and churchmen. Suppose that for the next five years the State Department were to detail 1,723 men to spend their full time coöperating with students in working out the implications of the Kellogg Pact. Or suppose that the money were used to send every man who received a commission in the

R. O. T. C. abroad for a year to study first-hand the political, social, and economic problems of the world which must be understood and faced if war is to be abolished. These 6,000 men would be vastly better prepared to defend our country against an outbreak of war than by doing squads right on the drill field.

If we were serious about outlawing war, we would insist that every high school and college provide courses giving the student a knowledge of how modern wars arise, of the great international problems in the solution of which all nations must coöperate if any one of them is to progress, and of the efforts to find methods and machinery for a friendly and effective handling of these problems. It is encouraging that in some quarters deans and presidents are beginning to realize their responsibility in this matter, and courses in peace and internationalism are being introduced. Since Attorney-General Mitchell ruled that the Morrill Act does not make military training complusory in land grant colleges, students at North Carolina State asked for a course in peace methods and machinery. Their request was granted and 25 undergraduates enrolled immediately. At Columbia, Professor Heber Harper is developing a new course in education and peace. These, however, are only gestures in a field whose possibilities are boundless.

525 Titles in 34 Countries

An important factor in international understanding are the books of any nation which are translated into other languages. Yet apparently this matter is left largely to chance or to a publisher's judgment of what will be good business. The result is that many highly important volumes are accessible only in the original, while much unimportant and even harmful matter is given a large audience.

We are moved to this reflection by a little pamphlet called *Books of Upton Sinclair in Translations and Foreign Editions—A Bibliography of 525 titles in 34 countries*. The formidable title tells its own story. Here is an American writer whose books have been published abroad to the extent of more than 1,000,000 copies. Without question he is the most widely read American author throughout the world. The fact that Russia and Germany easily outrun all other countries is an indication of the reason for Sinclair's popularity. He is a voice of protest against the injustices and wrongs of life and a prophet of the new society. To this must be added his evident literary ability.

Writers like Upton Sinclair (likewise Sinclair Lewis) are a wholesome influence in the United States. They are often accused of contributing to that frequently ridiculous misunderstanding of the United States which is reflected in the never-ending flood of European books on America. In other words, they are supposed to be detractors and misinterpreters. To some extent this is true since they are not always accurate or balanced. But intelligent Europeans know well enough that stupidity, babbitry, and social injustice are not confined to the United States. They are constantly fighting it in their own countries. Upton Sinclair makes it plain that these evils do not go unchallenged. From their newspapers and journals the people of European nations know "Uncle Shylock," the regimentation of American life, Henry Ford and rationalization, and money-mad America. From Sinclair they may learn that there are oases in the desert. No matter what Sinclair's place may be in American letters, as an interpreter of the United States to the rest of the world he performs a useful function.

Communist Tactics

Communists as a rule are the most irritating and provocative people under the shining sun. They delight in heckling speakers to the point of distraction. Breaking up meetings is for them a favorite indoor sport. Boring from within and wrecking trade unions is their established policy. The creation of class hatred is one of their major endeavors. Especially venomous are their attacks upon socialists and liberals. They thrive on disturbances and riots. They jump bail without a twinge of conscience.

Nevertheless, THE WORLD TOMORROW protests against the kind of brutality exhibited by the New York police in dealing with a communist delegation on unemployment at the City Hall. Stung by their taunts, Mayor Walker ordered them ejected. Whereupon Sam Nesin, one of the delegates, was unmercifully beaten by officers of the law. This is but one of many instances of police brutality against radicals and can only have the effect of creating further bitterness and antagonism. Distorted accounts of these official outrages appear in the labor press here and abroad and further diminish confidence in government and the orderly evolution of society.

The degree of strain placed upon the patience of their opponents is revealed in the following communist press release after the unemployment demonstration referred to above: "Norman Thomas, the social fascist candidate of the Socialist Party, who was present in the chambers when the massacre took place, smiled charmingly in true ministerial fashion. Only last week Thomas led the attack within the executive committee of the American Civil Liberties Union against imprisoned and tortured workers by refusing them bail and attacking the International Labor Defense in its defense of militant jailed workers in the present economic crisis. The answer to the cry for bread is billies. On this, the Republican, Socialist, and Democratic Parties are one. The Rev. Norman Thomas and Mayor Walker are the direct representatives of capitalist America against the bitter struggle for work or wages." And yet Fred Marvin, *et al*, use "communist" and "socialist" as synonyms!

Trumpet to the People

*The Story of Oswald Garrison Villard**

WHEN a boy, Oswald Garrison Villard used to ride his pony up Fifth Avenue behind his mother's victoria. The progressiveness of his parentage—that of the railroad-building Henry Villard and of Fanny Garrison—showed even in the manner of their residence, for the Westmoreland, where the family dwelt in the early eighties, was the first elevator apartment in New York. The "excelsior" note has been a family heritage. It lives today in the battling *Nation,* champion of the downtrodden, even though the contemporary Garrisonian journalism no longer suffers the *per aspera* trials of the months when William Lloyd Garrison slept on the floor of his garret in order to publish the *Liberator,* and the penniless immigrant youth, Heinrich Hilgard, fled from military reaction in Germany following the '48 revolution and passed his first New York nights on a park bench. But the *ad astra* pathway is being blazed in the new pioneering amid the wilderness of our complex twentieth century civilization. The crusading urge derives from both the Hilgard and Garrison ancestries. Oswald got both barrels.

The Westmoreland Apartments in which he spent part of his childhood recently made way for a new Tammany Hall, but the suggestion that the wigwam be adorned with a tablet recording the fact that William Lloyd Garrison had died there met with no encouragement from his grandson. He deemed the juxtaposition of the civic idealism commemorated and the municipal *realpolitik* materialized in stone wholly incongruous, though he tactfully based his objection on the technical point that the new edifice was not the one in which the abolitionist had breathed his last.

THE boy on horseback riding up America's most famous street was father to the man some twenty years later. Bob Duffus's "The Grandson of the Liberator", accepted as the official monograph by its reprint from the *American Mercury* for the tenth anniversary of the new *Nation* celebration two years ago leads with this savory anecdote:

"One morning late in 1898 Fifth Avenue pedestrians paused to gaze at what even then was an unusual sight on that respectable thoroughfare. A spirited steed was curvetting up the avenue with a gentleman in the late twenties clad in a brownish-yellow riding costume in the saddle. A wide hat-brim dropped over a pair of spectacles and shadowed what seemed to many observers to be a decidedly familiar moustache. The Spanish war was just over and reverence for martial achievements was high. Here and there along the line a hat was waved and cheers broke out. Policemen drew themselves up to their full height and saluted.

"The rider received these tributes with some astonishment, but continuing modestly on his way turned down a side street and rode his mount aboard a Brooklyn ferry. A small group of passengers assembled and gazed respectfully. No one spoke. Finally a grimy stoker emerged from the hold and shouldering the other spectators aside stared hard. 'Say,' he demanded, 'are you Colonel Roosevelt, or ain't you?' "

Oswald Villard enjoys telling this story about himself, and it is a curious fact that between the militant and military Theodore and the militant pacifist Oswald there is more than physical resemblance. The same "strenuous life" is there, the same catholicity of interest, the corresponding expertness in a variety of widely diverse fields. Villard nearing sixty is a superb horseman and can swim a mile without fatigue. He can speak as well as he can write, with the same fine fire when he is aroused. He may justly claim expertness as a political observer—his Washington correspondence for the *Evening Post* equals the best in America's journalistic tradition; he is an authority on the press—and its most caustic critic—and cites with some pride that the family's four generations in journalism are equalled only by the record of the Bowleses of the Springfield *Republican.* He is a musical connoisseur; his presidency of the Philharmonic was rooted in his love for symphonic excellence. He takes pride in his expertness in military strategy and tactics. An enormous crop of post-war memoirs of generals great and near-great, gravitates to his desk for review, a literary inheritance, perhaps from his father who distinguished himself as a war correspondent with the Union Army.

Nor is the Villardian ability to chronicle events purely journalistic. Oswald could with ease have followed a professional career. His first adult occupation was teaching history at Harvard—his alma mater—after graduation. He has served on the "committee to visit the Department of History", an honorary post which at least signalizes the recognition of the academic world. And his *John Brown—a Biography Fifty Years After* is the classic and, to use a modern term, the "definitive" biography of the

* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

martyr of Harper's Ferry. Which leads naturally to one of O. G. V.'s major interests—in the colored people, with whose emancipation his grandfather's name is so imperishably linked. In him, the abolitionist tradition, which has petered out in the third generation of so many other families whose sires crusaded from the thirties to the sixties, burns with undiminished flame. For three decades his voice and pen have been unceasingly directed against the injustices, cruelties, and discriminations erected by American race prejudice against Americans of African descent. He was one of the founders of the American Association for the Advancement of Colored People, established in the dark days of race rioting and lynching nearly a quarter of a century ago. He was for many years the chief supporter of an industrial school for colored youth at Manassas, Virginia.

DOES the picture conjure up an impractical idealist merely tilting at windmills? It is suggestive that in a recent issue of one of our best monthlies appears an uproariously triumphant article from his pen,

From an etching by Bernard Sanders

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

entitled "Our Crumbling Color Line." In it he takes delight in recording the transformation which, still unknown and unnoticed by many, is bringing to the American Negro a new emancipation, economic, political, and even social.

But it is not merely in the realization, actual or prospective, of the one-time apparently unattainable goals that Villard may be exempted from a category of "tired radicals", the connotation of whose every effort is glorious defeat. The fiscal genius which enabled the elder Villard to create the Northern Pacific—ties, rails, stocks and bonds—and to worst the redoubtable Jay Gould in one of those titanic catch-as-catch-can struggles of the days of railroad trail-blazing and financing, has transmitted a few chromosomes to the son. Villard, the younger, on occasion admits that had the accumulation of more wealth been his goal, he might have been a great figure in Wall Street, have associated his name with the upbuilding of some huge business enterprise, have successfully administered some nation-wide trust. It might conceivably have been Villard and Company of Wall Street, or Villard Frères of New York, Paris, London, and Frankfort; or, following the paternal bent toward transportation, the Villard Motor Company of Detroit, or the Villard Steamship Line. As it is, he has managed uniquely to lift a crusading weekly "out of the red," an achievement which none of the endowed competitors in the field of liberal weekly or monthly journalism have been able to approach. Indeed, most of them have long since given up the struggle. Likewise there is his *Nautical Gazette,* a journal of marine news and comment which aims to aid the restoration of American merchant marine to its one-time glory.

To be sure, his critics—who are often his warmest admirers—deplore a certain economical streak running like a bar sinister through the escutcheon of financial wizardry. Likewise *Nation* contributors are wont to assert with some unction that the *Nation,* which waxes strident in behalf of the "exploited" workingman, exploits its literary workers with complete inconsistency when it accepts their pen products at a cent a word. No one, however, gainsays Mr. Villard's ability to continue to secure their literary contributions.

FOR many years Villard has toyed with the idea of retiring, and he talks with a certain amused sadness of an autobiographical "Confessions of an Unsuccessful Journalist." His great failure, of course, was the loss of the *Evening Post* which, since its founding by Alexander Hamilton, had variously continued under the editorships of William Cullen Bryant, of Carl Schurz, and of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. For more than a century it had been a beacon to American journalism. Never attaining a great circulation, it entered homes where ideas were cur-

rent, and its readership constituted an intellectual aristocracy in America. Especially was the *Post* read by other American editors from coast to coast. The editorial page of the leading Boston morning daily was not "put to bed" until, at about 10.30 P. M., the five o'clock limited from New York brought in the afternoon's *Evening Post* with the day's topics lucidly exposed and vigorously discussed in its editorial columns. The same practice prevailed in Philadelphia and Baltimore "sancta."

It was precisely this respect for the editorial leadership of the *Evening Post*—even among the editors whose expressed views on many topics were wholly at variance—that made the paper so formidable. In his *Some Newspapers and Newspaper-Men,* Villard cites the remark of Governor David B. Hill of New York in the course of the Maynard campaign in which the reformers, with the *Evening Post* leading the press, waged a successful, though at first apparently hopeless, campaign to thwart the efforts of the Hill machine to place a totally unfit man in a high judicial office: "I don't care anything about the handful of Mugwumps who read it (The *Evening Post*) in New York. The trouble with the damned sheet is that every editor in New York State reads it."

Fearless, uncompromising, high-principled, the uniqueness of the *Post* lay in the complete editorial freedom given its editor by the ownership, and its disregard of financial considerations in carrying out policies which the helmsman deemed right. It was the relentless foe of corruption in high and low places, but especially did it engage the powerful in mortal combat. It early fought—at great cost to its exchequer—the battle against the pressure of department-store advertisers, a chapter not always glorious in the past life of many an American daily. Such policies should have led to permanent financial success; and indeed it is the sorrow of Villard's friends—if not the reproach they make—that he did not keep the *Evening Post* alive even at some sacrifice to his fortune and demonstrate the soundness of a non-commercial newspaper. The effort would have been worth making, for the *Post,* if not a great financial success as newspaper properties went in those days, was a consistent though not a large income producer in the generation of Villard ownership (1883-1918). In one of these years, it made over $100,000. The yearly net revenue until 1900 was substantial. In the second seventeen years, it averaged a small percentage of profit, and its circulation increased. Its course of intellectual honesty, rather than expediency, in opposing the United States' entry into the World War, and thereafter fighting for the maintenance of civil liberties at home that seemed consonant with the waging of a war "to make the world safe for democracy"—an objective which the *Evening Post* denounced as illusory—led directly to the paper's sale. The *Post* suffered for its at that time unpopular views just as did the owner. Mounting costs of production spelled impending deficits, and the paper was sold. Its name, with the prefix of "New York," survives.

VILLARD, freed from the larger responsibilities of daily journalism, strove in the *Nation* to set forth his convictions, and the views which, with the general regimentation of opinion incidental to the war, found no expression elsewhere. He did not escape unscathed. He and his family for a time suffered social ostracism. He tells with relish some of the incidents of these days.

"My Gawd, what a club this is!" he heard one of his fellow-members at the University Club remark as, bent over the basin, he did not note Villard's entry into the wash-room, "a club that has in its membership Oswald Garrison Villard and A——— P———."

At Black Point, near New London, where the Villards had a summer cottage, a delegation of patriotic neighbors called demanding the disposal of the family dachshund. "It is bad enough to have a patrifist living here," was the ultimatum of the self-appointed visiting committee-women, "but we draw the line at a Hun dog!"

"Just supposing I had remained 'regular' at the beginning of the war," Villard has remarked on various occasions, with keenly evident satisfaction at his irregularity, "supposing I had not opposed our participation in the war. Through my friendship with Woodrow Wilson at the time, I could have been a brigadier-general." In the intelligence department of course, for which, with his proficiency in German and French and his knowledge of military affairs Villard would have been well qualified.

Well, possibly Villard might have worn a general's stars, if he had ever had a hankering for rank and decorations. His accumulation of honorary degrees —Litt.D., Washington and Lee, LL.D., Lafayette— was cut short by his non-conformism. Still his imagination of "what might have been", occasionally runs away with him, to the point of naivetè. He was firmly convinced that he was slated for the Vice-Presidential nomination on the LaFollette Progressive ticket in 1924. This optimism he applies not merely to himself but to men and measures generally. He is always hopeful that men, especially in public office, will turn out far better than they do. Hence his frequent disillusion which causes him to rend them with his pen and has given him a somewhat undeserved reputation for "bitterness." Actually he keeps his estimates of the private virtues and the public attainments of public men correctly distinct. Evasion and pussy-footing are non-existing in Villard's or the *Nation's* lexicon.

FOR twelve years, the *Nation* has gone merrily on, attacking militarism and imperialism, stoutly supporting the traditional American liberties, and being lustily iconoclastic—an irrepressible gadfly to smug complacency and to the deity of "things as they are." One of its issues was temporarily barred from the mails after the Armistice by the later Solicitor-General Lamar, for no less heinous an offense than a caustic criticism of the labor leader Sam Gompers. Two years ago it celebrated its tenth anniversary—that is, the decennial of its metamorphosis from a staid and academic mentor, dry and authoritative, to a "liberal weekly"— with banquets of *Nation* readers in a score of cities from coast to coast.

Villard, of course, has ever found it difficult to share the view of his associates that the *Nation* is—and should be—an institution, conducted like a soviet by its staff, and not his personal property. He has repeatedly endorsed their idea in principle, but in practice editors come and go, somewhat disillusioned by too prolonged service, and needing a spell of distance to restore their earlier enchantment.

This acute question—of one-man versus group-editorship—is particularly posed at present (1930-1931) when Villard has gone to Europe for an indefinite leave of absence. He wants to test whether the *Nation* can endure without him, can sound its clarion calls with undiminished vigor in his absence.

Whatever may be the result, and however considerable the contributions of his fellow editors to the *Nation,* it stands today as a Villard monument, wholly consonant with the journalistic traditions of four generations. Its virtues (already amply suggested) and its vices (sentimentalism, moralizing and occasionally biased and inaccurate presentations) are alike Villard's. For twelve years it has been dedicated to the perpetuation of principles which are representative of the worthiest striving in the American experiment. It has left an imperishable mark on contemporary American thought. With all its internationalism, it has kept alive a peculiarly American spirit and tradition of independence and decency in an epoch of great confusion. The credit is chiefly Villard's.

Fourteen years ago, Gustav Pollak wrote the *Nation's* story in a brilliant collection of editorial extracts from the writings of American immortals that had appeared in its columns—Lowell, Howells, James, Charles Eliot Norton and the rest. He called the volume "A Half Century of Idealism." That characterization is not less merited with the added years as the *Nation* nears its three score and ten.

Religion and Ethics

H. RICHARD NIEBUHR

A CHARACTERISTIC feature of modern culture is the divorce between religion and ethics. The effort to differentiate the two is expressed, first of all, in the psychology of religion which emphasizes the element in faith that it does not share with ethics, art, or science. It does this by tracing the historical source of religious experience to the sense of awe felt in the presence of *mana* and by defining the object of worship as the Holy—that indefinable, majestic reality before which man experiences tremor and the feeling of unworthiness rather than any sense of kinship. Contemporary interest in mysticism—in which God is not so much an ethical will to be obeyed as a pure Being with whom union is sought—and in the development of worship—which, in opposition to service, is again regarded by many as the proper function of the church—also leads to the distinction between religion and ethics.

Even more significant than these religious and theological movements are the ethical tendencies which seek the same divorce of morals and faith but for antithetical reasons. In the theory of ethics tendencies of this sort are very old, going back to the moral philosophy of the Greeks, experiencing a great revival in the Illumination and with Kant, and moving forward with increasing vigor to our own times. Whether the ethical principle is sought in the realm of ideas or values, or in autonomous conscience, or in the desire for pleasure and the fear of pain, or in an instinctive sympathy, in a sense of obligation for social welfare, or in the value of self-realization—in every instance the effort is made to found morality upon a factor available to all men, irrespective of their religious or metaphysical beliefs.

This movement toward an ethics independent of faith has achieved a previously unknown significance in our day, because of the popular increase of irreligion and the necessity for discovering a basis of worthy conduct for men whose faith in the moral authority of religion has been dissolved by the processes of modern civilization. The result is the humanistic movement which seeks not only to establish ethics in independence of religion but also to substitute moral ideals for faith and to win for the former the enthusiasms and devotions historically associated with the latter. Continental socialism, especially communism, shares two things with humanism: a desire to found a social ethic upon non-religious bases, and an animosity toward the

metaphysics of faith as well as toward the moral codes connected with the dominant historic forms of Christianity.

THE divorce of ethics from religion is, however, far more thorough and extensive than these limited social philosophies indicate. Theory, here as elsewhere, is the reflection of or answer to a social situation. The emancipation of business, state-craft, science, education, art and—most recently—the family from religious control has led to an effort to seek guidance from principles resident in "nature" or "reason." As with the institution, so with the individual. The emancipation of the latter from religious and social control, beginning with the Reformation and reaching its highest development with the atomization of life in industrial civilization, the division and conflict of interests which arise out of an individual's participation in unharmonized and conflicting social institutions—these have left him with a variety of codes of conduct, uncoördinated among themselves and uncoördinated with any religious faith. The latter, indeed, has become a purely private matter—an attitude toward the universe rather than a source of moral revelation and inspiration.

II

WHILE the movement toward the separation of ethics from religion is of long standing, it is as yet impossible to speak with any assurance of its results. Up to the present time neither theoretical nor social and cultural ethics have been able to produce out of their own resources moral codes of recognized validity. They have achieved no such general recognition as is required for any really effective ethical standard. The types of ethical authority urged by the various theorists or accepted by the different groups are of so many sorts and so often conflicting that it is impossible to obtain a consensus. Individuals here and there, it is true, have found the basis for a worthy if not always a hopeful life in principles or considerations that have nothing to do with religion. But so far as the winning of a general set of principles is concerned, upon which men can build the structure of their social life—principles similar to the foundations of science—ethics without religion has made little progress. Russian communism alone has been able to produce an effective social ethics, and it has succeeded only by means of the double device of building its morals upon the metaphysical, semi-religious assumptions of Marxism and of enforcing them through the all-powerful authority of the state. For the rest, the effort to establish ethics without religion has left us with a moral anarchy in which each social institution is a law unto itself, where there is no good beyond that of the state, where business is business and art is carried on for art's sake, and where the last word to the individual is "Let your conscience be your guide."

On the other hand, the failure of the ethical movement to found a morality independent of religion is evident from the large extent to which it has unconsciously borrowed from the Jewish and Christian ethics, while consciously rejecting the metaphysics originally connected with these systems. This is true of theoretical as well as of popular ethical movements. It has often been pointed out that in his effort to develop a purely rational ethics Kant was not a little influenced by his pietistic education, and that the actual ethical principles which he sought to derive from his rationalism were definitely Christian in content. Later ultilitarian ethics is likewise indebted to Christianity for its social ideals, while modern humanism seems to regard as "self-evident truths of reason" moral ideals and principles which have their historic roots in the prophecy of the Old Testament and in the gospel of the New. Nor is it an accident that many of the leaders of socialism have been Jews who, though they rejected the faith of their fathers, could not forget the cry for justice in the pages of Amos and Isaiah and Micah. The line of descent to other socialist programs leads from the Jerusalem community through early and medieval sects, Anabaptists and Quakers, to the nineteenth century. Socialism is definitely a western movement which has entered Oriental nations only after Christian missions prepared the ground for it.

WHAT is true of social ethics is true also of those moral principles which govern the individual life in its less complex relations. Modern morality is characterized by the continuance of a considerable number of principles and habits which were derived from Christianity or Judaism but are now maintained apart from faith.

So it remains true that ethics without religion has thus far failed to produce or to make effective an independent morality. Religion without ethics must record an equal failure. Mysticism, like pure ethics, has been able to achieve some valid insights of its own, but when it has sought to communicate itself or to become a social and historical religion, it has found it necessary to re-introduce ethics into its faith; otherwise it has remained, again like ethics without religion, a purely private matter without authority save for the individual who achieved the mystical experience. A theology of pure transcendence eventually becomes a theology without content; it stops where it begins—with the assertion of divine transcendence. But if it seeks to make religion effective in the individual or the social life, it will inevitably associate itself with ethics.

III

YET the justice of the two revolts—of ethics against religion and of religion against ethics—must be conceded. Because Christianity in its historic forms often associated itself with systems of metaphysical belief which became increasingly difficult for men living in the modern world to hold honestly, ethics was impelled to seek more certain foundations for its principles. That it involved itself in uncertainties at least as great as those from which it escaped is true; yet the effort remained necessary under the conditions. In the second place, the revolt of ethics against religion was inevitable because religion—Christianity in particular—had often become untrue to many of its own original, moral principles and had adopted an ethics inconsistent with its faith. So there appeared the remarkable phenomena of a Christian ethics which had adopted a non-Christian metaphysics, and a Christian religion which had adopted a non-Christian ethics. The third reason for the revolt of ethics against identification with religion lay in the demands made upon ethics by modern industrialism. The increasing complexities of the latter offered an opportunity for new ethical development and demanded the extension and refinement of inherited moral ideals. But theological and ecclesiastical conservatism prevented organized Christianity from making the adjustments required and meeting the opportunities offered. That failure called for an independent system of ethics.

The justice of the revolt of theology against ethics is less obvious, but the movement is not without legitimate foundation. The tendency to identify Christianity with western civilization, to define the religious object as well as religious endeavor in purely social terms, invited a reaction. It was inevitable that nineteenth century "religion within the limits of humanity" should issue in the extreme antithesis of a twentieth century "religion within the limits of deity."

IV

WHEN these religious and ethical movements of our time are considered not merely as contemporary phenomena but in the light both of history and of the intrinsic relation between faith and morality, their meaning and the desirable though not necessary result of their interaction are disclosed.

Religion and ethics seem to be related somewhat as are the two natures of Christ according to the ancient formula: they are inseparable and indivisible, but are not to be confused or identified with each other. They have been inseparable in history insofar as all decisive religious advances have been made in close connection with new social experience and resultant ethical insight, and insofar as all great ethical systems —not those of theory but those of practical conduct—have been the product of religious movements. Moses and the prophets, Jesus and Paul, Gotama and Vardhamana, Zoroaster and Mohammed were not only the founders of great religious movements but the sources of great ethical systems. In theory also the relationship has been close. From Plato to Kant and Sidgwick and Hobhouse, ethical theory has revealed its need for a religious interpretation of the universe if it was to carry its thought to a worthy conclusion, while theology has been more rather than less dependent upon ethics for its definition of the essential constitution of the universe. Modern attempts to define goodness as value without metaphysical basis of any sort, or to define God as reality without any definition of his ethical character, end with unsatisfactory and ultimately intolerable constructions—houses without roofs. They leave one with only the choice between a complete relativism and a complete dogmatism, and so sap meaning and motive from both ethics and religion.

ON the other hand, the identification of religion and ethics leads to no less unsatisfactory and irrational results. Such identification, when made under the auspices of religion, either confounds ethical principle with the moral rules strictly relative to a certain historical and social situation and absolutizes a system of moral dogma, or it confines the definition of ethical truth to eternal principles from which no effective guidance for the moral life may be gained, so that individuals and especially social institutions are left without ethical control. Puritanism has tended toward the first of these fallacies, Lutheranism toward the second. If the identification is made under the auspices of ethics, however, religion is robbed of vitality, either because God is identified with social goodness as defined from the relative point of view of a particular epoch and social situation so that the transcendent and disinterested point of view of faith is lost, or he is defined in terms of ethical demand only, without that element of love which is beyond good and evil, yet gives both good and evil their tragic, redemptive meeting. If it would maintain its valid and vital element, religion must bethink itself not only of the goodness of God but also of those elements of divinity which constitute its "plus"—its beyond-good-and-evil, its transcendence and forgiveness. If ethics would develop its intention to the full, it must discover not only its eternal authority in a cosmic constitution, but also its responsibility to temporal problems and cultural values; it must seek not only the definition of the absolutely good and the absolutely bad, but it must remember its obligation to realize the better and to prevent the worse. The field of ethics is time, but the condition of its effectiveness in time is its co-conscious awareness of eternity. The field of religion is eternity, but the condition of its realization of eternity is a co-con-

sciousness of time. The peril of ethics alone is relativity, and the peril of isolated religion is the dogmatism of an absolute, irrelevant to time. The salvation of ethics is religion, and the salvation of religion is ethics.

Hence the relation of ethics and religion appears to be conceivable not so much after the analogy of the organism as after the pattern of social structure. It is a relation of support within a system of strains and tensions. At present the strains and tensions are more evident than the support. The development of rebellious tendencies within each sphere has been necessary not only for the sake of particular interests but also for the sake of the eventual support which they can give each other. Yet unless it leads to a new coöperation, rebellion will become its own nemesis. Whether a system of mutual support will again be realized, no one can prophesy; but it seems evident that, if it is to be realized, it must be worked out first of all in the field of practice—in the winning of ethical awareness of the cosmic basis of moral obligations—and in the gaining of religious convictions which will make a difference in the social and ethical life.

How Dumb Is An Oyster?

"It seems a shame," the Walrus said,
"To play them such a trick,
After we've brought them out so far
And made them trot so thick!"
The Carpenter said nothing but
"The Butter's spread too thick."

. . . .

"I weep for you," the Walrus said,
"I deeply sympathize."
With tears and sobs he sorted out
Those of the largest size,
Holding his pocket handkerchief
Before his streaming eyes.

O Oysters of Europe and America, let us band together and try to keep the spot-light turned on the political, military and naval Walruses and Carpenters who are shouting for more knives and forks, and more bread and butter.

Every thinking Oyster knows that an increased number of knives and forks means an increased incentive and inspiration to the Walruses and Carpenters of every country to settle disputes when they arise by thumping their fists on the table, flapping their fins, and barking loudly for an oyster banquet. It is quite natural they should do so for they have devoted the best part of their lives to the study of oyster-eating, and they want to put their gustatorial talents to the test every so often and see whose knives and forks can spear the greatest number of oysters. It would be bad economy to keep a stack of knives and forks sharpened and polished, and to keep bread and butter in the larder without making use of it; so, whenever a dispute arises, we little oysters are trotted out under the slogan of "self-defense," which is an elastic phrase and sounds very fine and patriotic indeed to an Oyster when it is barked out by a popping-eyed, whiskered old Walrus or a crafty old Carpenter. Every German Oyster was told he was fighting in defense of his country, and every German Oyster believed it. We Oysters over here believed that we were trotting across the ocean in 1917 to put an end to oyster banquets for good and all. We believed it and trotted over with enthusiasm, and now here are the Walruses and Carpenters telling us again that the only way to prevent future oyster banquets is to contribute to a larger supply of tableware and bread and butter.

If we tacitly and pusillanimously let them go ahead and arrange it all for us, why then we deserve to be eaten up every so often; and the youngest and freshest and best will be eaten up first (not stale old leftovers from the last banquet like ourselves).

A great deal of weeping and shedding bitter tears (this is etiquette among Walruses and Carpenters) will be done after the banquet is over, and the Oysters will be told again what a cruel and horrible thing oyster-banqueting is, and that the only way to prevent it is "more knives and forks."

There is a grim humor about the poem of the Walrus and the Carpenter, but the time to see the grim humor of it and act is *now*, and not when we Oysters are already lined up on opposing sides and trotting toward each other on the picnic ground. Let us try and think a little bit about the welfare of the future crop of oysters so that they may in time look back upon oyster banquets as a mediaeval horror of the past, on a par with witch-burning, which, like oyster-banqueting, was done in the name of "God," "Right," and "Self-Defense."

H. D. R. (*An Oyster of 1917*)

Nothing in Scientific Tariff

Columnist Calvin Coolidge, who gets more money for saying less than any man in America, almost earned his pay check the day he told the public that there was nothing in this scientific tariff business. He ought to know and Mr. Hoover soon will know if he does not now. After weeks of search he could get only five men for his commission of six, and they were not his first choice. The time limit had expired before he got his sixth man. Brossard of Utah is avowedly Smoot's man which means that he can always be trusted to favor high tariffs especially for the beet sugar industry, which is one of the worst exploiters of children in America.—*League for Industrial Democracy Editorial Service, October 1, 1930.*

Not in the Headlines

Cure for Unemployment

The city council of El Paso, Texas, has decreed that only American citizens may be employed by the city government or on municipal projects.

Does Public Ownership Pay?

The municipally-owned light and power plant of Los Angeles reports an increase in earnings of $500,000 for the year 1929, despite a reduction in rates and the general industrial depression.

Passive Resistance Spreads To Egypt

Taking a leaf from the book of Gandhi's followers, 400 Egyptian councillors, senators, and deputies took an oath of non-coöperation following an inflaming speech delivered by Wafdist leader, Nahas Pasha.

Still an Agricultural Nation

Investigations on the part of the National Industrial Conference Board disclose the fact that in nineteen states of the Union over 50 per cent of the wealth is contributed by agriculture and that in six additional states the combined value of crops and animal products exceeds that of manufactures.

Italy Moves Eastward

On a slope of the Lebanons, along the road to Damascus in the French mandate, is a walled-in compound flaunting a sign: "Colonia Montana Italiana"—with Fascist symbols worked into the cement. Inquiry reveals that the place is used as a summer colony for Italian children.

Farm Relief in Hungary

An ingenious method has been devised in Hungary whereby farmers obtain a certain measure of economic help. The farmer receives from the purchaser, over and above the market price of his grain, a coupon in payment. This coupon, issued by the government, is called a *boleta* and is valid in payment of taxes. Otherwise it is not currency.

Settling the World's Problems

Debating teams from universities of England, Scotland, and Germany have arrived in the United States to undertake extensive tours arranged by the National Student Federation of America. Among the subjects to be debated are the Young plan, the foreign indictment of American culture, nationalism, socialism, the tariff problem, and the proposed Federation of Europe.

Room for Improvement

Harvey S. Firestone furnishes the following statistics to support his contention that we are not suffering from over-production: 4,000,000 city families have no bathtubs; 3,000,000 families have unplumbed homes; 4,000,000 rural families are doing without electricity; 5,000,000 families lack adequate clothing, food and shelter; 13,000,000 rural families have no telephone; 7,000,000 families have no automobile; 20,000,000 families haven't a good radio set.

The Machine Age

The Emperor of Abyssinia has purchased a Rolls Royce built to order, and the Shah of Persia has ordered an American-made motor with fittings encrusted with gold and precious stones.

England Goes Boston

The British Government has placed on the proscribed list Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Osburn's *Must England Lose India?*, an indictment of England's colonial policy in India.

Discrimination?

In Coahoma County, Mississippi, the per capita annual expenditure for education was $53 for white children and $2.39 for Negroes. The money for this purpose is derived from public funds raised by taxation.

Breaking the Barriers

A conference of Rumanian and Yugoslav statesmen, held at Sinaia, near Bucharest, has resulted in an economic partnership between the two countries. It is thought that this agreement will develop into a general customs union, eventually embracing Czechoslovakia and Austria as well.

Education 243 o—Peace (Fall Quarter)

To counteract the prevailing emphasis on nationalism in American schools, a peace course has been established in Teachers' College, Columbia University. The course, under the direction of Dr. Heber Harper, will include consideration of the causes of war and positive factors involved in insuring peace.

Socially-Minded France

A comprehensive system of social insurance has been put into effect in France after years of parliamentary discussion. The new law provides for insurance against sickness, invalidity, old age, widowhood, orphanage, and death. Everyone with an income above 15,000 francs a year in the provinces and above 18,000 francs in cities is obliged to insure under this law.

Wisconsin's Jobless

Wisconsin, the only state in the country which keeps an adequate record of unemployment conditions, reports that a total of 560 factories in thirty different cities carried 114,644 employees on their rolls in April as compared with 116,072 in March. The ten public employment offices registered 159 workers for each 100 called for during April, 1930, as against 117 in April, 1929.

Turning the Other Cheek

A group of Jewish workers and intellectuals in Palestine known as the *Brith Shalom* ("Covenant of Peace") recently sent a petition to the High Commissioner asking him to reprieve the Arabs under sentence of death for their part in the murders a year ago. The petition is based on the ground that no man is wholly responsible for his acts when under the influence of mob mentality, and it expressed the fear that the proposed executions would revive racial bitterness and antagonism.

Japan's Cultural Trend

INAZO NITOBE

"THERE is but one lamp by which our feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience." This wise utterance from the lips of Patrick Henry is not to be denied, especially among a people whose history dates back some twenty centuries. In discussing the cultural trend of modern Japan, we must first take a backward look and find what the experience of our forefathers has to teach us. They, too, had to pass through a period in many respects similar to our own—particularly as regards the introduction of an exotic culture.

There is nothing new in exoticism in Japan. The nation was bred in it at the dawn of her history. The so-called Nara Age, which marked a high tide of our civilization, was the gift of Chinese art and science, and of Hindu religion and philosophy. Even the population of that time was in no small degree exotic—Chinese and Korean, with perhaps a sprinkling of Hindus and Jews.

Prior to the Nara period—indeed in our pre-historic days—the Japanese were a mixed race. A distinguished craniologist, Monsieur Hamy, once declared that, after measuring thousands of skulls, he had come to the conclusion that no race was more intermixed than the Japanese; that they have in their veins the blood of the Caucasian, Malay and Mongolian, and in the southernmost parts of the country the Negro as well. Let us then accept these two facts as premises: the racial mixture of the Japanese, and their contact since remotest ages with alien culture.

WHEN the Confucian doctrines first found their way to Japan, the selective power of the race was in a nascent stage of development. As yet there was no writing and no literature or recorded thought; hence Chinese ideography and Chinese ideas were adopted *en masse*. Moreover, little discrimination was exercised in the process of selection. How could there be, when there was nothing with which to contrast or compare the exotic culture? But not so, when, somewhat later, Buddhism was introduced. By that time we were provided with a weapon borrowed from China and there ensued some conflict in defense of native gods. The result was a sort of alliance or fusion and the two faiths, as far removed in character as is the North Pole from the South, were yoked together by government authority and made to do its behests.

Thus all the main elements of continental culture were without difficulty absorbed into the scheme of Japanese life. Among the new innovations, however, was the invention of the phonetic syllabary based on the Indian alphabet, expressing Japanese sounds written in signs borrowed from Chinese ideography. This syllabary, the *i-ro-ha,* so named from its three initial letters, was a potent factor in the dissemination of culture, comparable to the introduction of the Roman alphabet among the nations of Europe. The Japanese could now speak out their mind without resorting to Chinese words and phrases.

BY the ninth century the Japanese had made their imported culture so Japanese that the generality of the people were hardly conscious of its foreign origin; and for some centuries thereafter little that was exotic found its way into the land. Especially was this true in the years between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth, during which the country was hermetically sealed. Scarcely a foreign idea filtered through the wall of seclusion. The object of the isolation was to exclude Christianity in any form or shape. Consequently a nation so mixed in blood and so susceptible to outside influence became the most exclusive race on the face of the earth.

When for a number of reasons—to explain which would take me too far from the present task—the isolation system broke down, the nation had to repeat precisely the same process which it had undergone in the Nara period. In one respect, however, the new experience was an improvement upon the old—in that it was far more selective and rational. In the earlier age, having no literature, no advanced arts or science, no philosophy or theology, we offered a clean slate for Chinese and Korean teachers to write what they would, and we accepted their culture as a godsend. But in the Meiji era our slate was already scribbled over with complicated marks and signs, and these could not easily be erased. Both Buddhism and Confucianism were so domiciled in the country that they looked upon a new foreigner, Christianity, as an intruder, and a dangerous one. They tried to demonstrate that the religion of Jesus—regarded by its followers as a universal faith—ignored the state and hence threatened its independent existence. They argued that Christianity, since it was democratic in its teaching, was opposed to our form of government; and further, that it would undermine the very foundation of our royal house by its doctrine of God as king. Most of the objections arrayed against the Christian religion were of a childish nature. The people knew better. They did not love the new re-

ligion, but by its works they knew there was life in it. They saw the educational activity of the Christian missions, they saw their work of social amelioration. They saw also the zeal and energy of native converts. The government and even the conservative court recognized that whatever the Christian doctrines might be, Christianity was doing things that other religions did not do.

FOR a long time there was a complacent notion that the superiority of the West consisted solely in its material civilization—in its machine production and mechanical institutions. By implication the East was not only not inferior but even superior in things spiritual and moral. The idea was not altogether a mistaken one. But the comparative merits and defects of Eastern and Western civilizations cannot be set down in general terms. Especially is this the case with regard to moral comparison. There is no scale by which to measure the spiritual qualities of individuals or of nations.

True to its tradition, Christianity has worked as a leaven in many ways and forms. But we must be careful lest we identify it with something else of Western origin. Over-zealous protagonists are apt to claim for Christianity credit which does not properly belong to it. For instance there is the idea of liberty. Missionaries like to assert that liberty is a Christian teaching, and passages from the Scriptures are quoted in proof thereof. But liberty came to Japan not as a religious dogma or a philosophical principle, but as a political doctrine, propogated mainly through John Stuart Mill and Jean Jaques Rousseau.

If the Christian influence has been feeble in politics, it has undoubtedly been effective in other fields of human thought and activity. For example, the beginning of social welfare work in this country must be attributed to Christian activity. Despite the fact that during the Nara period measures of social amelioration were instituted under the influence of the new converts to Buddhism, the revival of altruism was largely the work of Christian missionaries. It is remarkable to find in the list of institutions and individuals whose social services receive official recognition or the Emperor's personal appreciation, so many foreign names—their number far exceeding in proportion that of the native workers. And in the field of education it seems to me that not enough honor is done those to whom honor is due. Our system of teaching has been so mechanically perfected that educators no longer seek even a hint of improvement from abroad. And yet nearly all the elements that make up the present system have been borrowed from the best experience of other countries.

THE strong nationalism everywhere prevailing in the nineteenth century was most obviously and aggressively developed in Germany, and Japan followed suit. Not only the militarism but the science and philosophy of Germany were greatly admired, and had it not been for the World War, Japan might have become an oriental Prussia. But as much as she admired Germany, Japan did not hesitate to declare war against her within a few days of the British declaration. She was morally bound to do this on account of her alliance with Great Britain. Economically, she would have fared far better if she had remained neutral. It is not for me, however, to dilate on the political issues involved in Japan's joining the Allied Powers, but rather on the cultural aspects of the new turn of her affairs. Just as in the eighth century the way had suddenly opened for direct communication with China because Korea lost her political independence, so, in the twentieth century, on the collapse of Germany, more intimate relations were established between Japan and English-Speaking countries.

Let me explain what I mean by "intimate relations." As everybody knows, Japan was opened by the United States and the English language is the *lingua franca* of the Far East. Excepting China, Japan's most important trade is with America and England. These facts alone are sufficient to show that her relations with Anglo-Saxon countries are exceedingly close. In some branches of science, notably medicine, Japan was always a pupil of Germany, and in philosophy, too, the Teutonic land was the trusted teacher. But, for nearly two decades after the Restoration, we turned to England and to English thinkers for political wisdom. The Declaration of Independence was a soul-stirring document to the early leaders of the Meiji reforms. The tripartite division of sovereignty into legislative, judicial and administrative power, as practiced in America, was adopted in a rigid form. In the field of religion, American missionaries led the way, closely followed by those from England. Among the foreign population residing in the country, the English-speaking formed by far the largest proportion. Thus in almost every way New Japan has been strongly influenced by Anglo-Saxon thought. While we continue to admire the thoroughness of the Germans and the logical consistency of the French, we have come to know that the racial mentality of the Japanese is most like that of the English and Americans.

Few people are more self-analytical than the Japanese. They are forever dissecting themselves and comparing themselves with other nations in this or that respect. In the past we have been moved mainly by instinct, emotion, and intuition. Now we subject our every action to a rigorous scrutiny and, in comparing ourselves with the rest of the world to learn wherein we fall short, we make new efforts to rectify that

which is wrong and fortify that which is weak. If flexibility and a capacity for adjustment are traits of youth, no nation is so young as Japan, and he who would forecast the future of our country must bear in mind this trait.

AT the present moment the spread of Bolshevistic theory is the gravest danger to our social order. It advocates the abolition of private property and the Royal House. Plot after plot has been discovered, showing that the communists are in dead earnest. Yet I cannot help believing that the Japanese will never accept so extreme a doctrine as Bolshevism. Their temperament forbids it. But they will go a long way toward accepting state socialism. Whatever is conducive to the unity and strength of government finds favor with the general public. Centralization has been the guiding principle of bureaucracy, and on this particular point we learned much from Germany, even surpassing her in some matters. However, there are indications at present of decentralization of governmental activity, and this tendency will increase as local self-government makes progress. The proletarian party, of which there are several factions, shows every sign of growth. When the factions are united, as they must sooner or later be, they will present a formidable front to other parties.

In short, whether it be in social legislation or in general democratic ideas, the progress that Japan will make within her own territory, will have its source of inspiration in the West. She will not try original experiments. This does not mean blind imitation of exotic examples. She will carefully examine the experience of other nations and select the best and the most practical for herself. Her institutions, customs and ideas will henceforth become more and more akin to those of the West. As Tokyo, wiped out by earthquake and conflagration, has risen from its own ashes —a new city, so unlike its old self and so foreign in its appearance, institutions and facilities—so will the whole Empire be transformed.

Intimations

I REMEMBER
Miss Wicksteed, who taught elocution; she
Had come from somewhere out our way, had known
My people. She had dark, angry-looking eyes,
Violent eyes in a sagging, baffled face;
A shag of harsh, black hair streaked with pure white;
Impatient, menacing hands. . . . Her deep voice always
Did something funny to my spine. . . . One day
I overheard Aunt Zen say to my father:
"Viola Wicksteed's going down hill fast;
"She wasn't herself last night." It frightened me,
The way Aunt Zen said, "She wasn't herself last night."
It always frightened me when grown-ups talked of things
Like that to each other, as if outside our house
There was a different kind of world. Our house
Was a safe house; a little boy felt safe there.
Nothing much ever happened inside our house
That wasn't as you'd expect it. Nobody there
Was ever not exactly as they had been
Yesterday and the day before—except
That sometimes a strange cook was in the kitchen,
Or a new maid in a white cap upstairs.
They didn't count. Old Mary counted, but she
Was one of the ones who always were the same.
But I remember
That one day I was standing in the pantry
All by myself; sometimes I went out there
To pull the dumb-waiter up and down; but that day
Suddenly all the dishes on the shelves
Rattled, and I felt giddy for a moment,
And one plate fell and smashed itself. I cried.
I ran upstairs crying and found my mother.
And then for several hours I heard them talking
About the earthquake. "Think of it," they'd say,
"An earthquake in New York! Who'd ever imagine
"That such a thing could happen!" The parlor clock
Had stopped; that evening my father had to set it
And make it go again.
"Just think of it!"
I did. I thought and thought and thought of it.
And I thought about Miss Wicksteed, too—of how
Aunt Zen had said, "She wasn't herself last night."
Life wasn't going to be what I'd been taught.
Life wasn't going to be nearly so safe
As everybody in our house expected me
To think!
"Viola Wicksteed's going down hill
"Fast—"
And our parlor clock stopping—and all. . . .
A boy would have to watch out, even if he wasn't
Seven yet . . .
Why couldn't everything always be
All right for everybody! Oh well, it *was*
In our house! Every morning father went
Down to his office, and every evening he
Came home and played with me for a little while—
Or taught me how to recite a piece, with gestures;
And mother was always just as she always was,
And so was old Mary Ford, and so was Aunt Zen. . . .
But I remember—
O God! but I remember—and remember!

LEE WILSON DODD

Morality and Religion in Japan

ARTHUR JORGENSEN

ANATOLE FRANCE has remarked somewhere that "moral ideas constitute the common base of each human generation." The experience of Japan during the past sixty years confirms this. In the midst of sweeping political, economic, and social changes during those years, the moral quality of the Japanese people has remained relatively constant. Indeed the very changes are explicable only in the light of these comparatively constant moral factors.

Theories of morality and ethics, both social and individual, as taught in the schools of Japan, may be said to find their starting point and explanation in the twin virtues of loyalty and filial piety. Of these two, loyalty is by far the greater. Loyalty is a virtue that shines with peculiar brightness wherever Confucianism has made itself felt. The Japanese may be said to be better exemplars of its influence than even the Chinese. During the strain and stress of revolutionary changes that have characterized the past sixty years of Japanese history, it has on more than one occasion demonstrated its value to the state. Loyalty is inculcated today through the national educational system with uncompromising thoroughness. It is accepted without question by that great majority of Japanese subjects whose education has been confined to the compulsory period.

Loyalty is in the main a conservative virtue for its emphasis falls naturally on things as they are. Like every virtue it has the defects of its quality. The truth is that while it has given to Japanese life an impressive homogeneity, it has sometimes been at the expense of such qualities as independence and originality. Loyalty tends to breed conformity and conformity is not a creative virtue. To acknowledge this is not to assert that the Japanese people have little or no originality—an absurd theory that can be refuted by anyone who takes the pains to study carefully what Japan has done with Chinese culture by way of modification and enrichment, as well as with Buddhism.

CLOSELY related to the virtue of loyalty, and in a sense growing out of it, is the unity of the Japanese race. If one is seeking for the qualities that explain the progressive evolution of modern Japan, here is a factor of first importance. Without it the nation's present enviable position in the life of the world could not have been won. Though this sense of unity of the nation has immense political consequences, the quality itself, as it relates to the individual citizen, is less political than spiritual. The source of it seems to me to lie in an intense loyalty to the Emperor. However they may differ in other respects, here is one common element in virtually all subjects of the Empire. The Emperor is to them a symbol, a living symbol through the ages of all that is best in the Japanese race and of all those qualities, events, and experiences which lend to the nation's history its deepest appeal to the emotions of each succeeding generation.

The family system was the very gibraltar of the old social order. Economic factors, preëminent in its origin and evolution, are now contributing to its modification and break-up. Industrialism, with its consequent individualism, has operated to weaken the influence of the family as the social unit and as the chief means of social control. The signs of disintegration are most obvious in the cities, especially among young people. In the country and in the smaller centers, on the other hand, it is fairly correct to say that the family system maintains its traditional prestige.

ANOTHER element in the moral and ethical life of the Japanese people is the modern scientific view of the world as taught in the schools. Many mature people as well as students will inform you that the ethical outlook of Japan today is being fashioned not by the prevailing religious and ethical training so assiduously inculcated through the national educational system, but rather by the scientific view of life and its progressive evolution, which is being taught simultaneously with the old virtues. This is natural, for a study of the whole method and spirit of the old-time teaching leaves one with the conclusion that it rests altogether too much upon belief in the uniqueness and unparalleled splendor of the Japanese imperial system, assumptions that are bound to be affected by the scientific attitude toward life and history.

Turning to the spiritual side of Japanese life, one finds a situation to charm the student of comparative religion. First of all there is Shinto, the cult of Japanese nationalism, bound by ties of history and of philosophy to the race, but nevertheless beginning through certain of its sects to feel the limitations of its immemorial bonds and to put on the ill-fitting garments of universalism. Next comes Buddhism, a foreign but thoroughly indigenized faith, deeply intertwined with the intellectual, emotional, and esthetic life of the Japanese people, and after an age of comparative degeneracy rising again to claim intelligent allegiance and, on the basis of its historic universalism, to demand the attention of the world. Finally,

there is Christianity, on the one hand bitterly opposed and looked upon with a traditional hatred, and on the other carried forward by the prestige of its identification with Western civilization, challenging the ancient faiths of Japan with its more explicit moral and ethical principles as well as by its more specific beliefs and doctrines. He is a bold prophet who tries to foretell the outcome of this intimate juxtaposition of living religions.

SHINTO operates in two fields and under two names: Sect Shinto and State Shinto. Sect Shinto is classified as a religion. It has thirteen sects and 17,000,000 adherents. These Shinto sects build up their following largely from among the more ignorant and superstitious classes.

State Shinto seems to be a number of different things: it is a state ceremony; it is the cult of ancestor reverence and of worship of the heroes and divinities of Japanese history; it is the cult of Mikado worship; and finally it is the rationalized basis of Japanese patriotism and of the national ethics as taught in the educational system. As the result of this system of indoctrination through the schools, and of the persistence of an ancient tradition, the Emperor has a significance to the vast majority of the people which only the word divine can adequately convey. He commands from the masses a degree of reverence and devotion for which it is difficult to find a parallel. State Shinto is clearly an instrument of enormous practical value in the hands of statesmen bent on perpetuating the economic and political status quo. There are now about 112,000 officially recognized shrines of State Shinto presided over by 15,000 priests. There are no figures as to adherents since the government evidently assumes that every subject is an adherent.

ACCORDING to the official statistics of the Bureau of Religions in the Home Department, Buddhism has 48,000,000 adherents, 71,000 temples, and 55,000 priests. These are imposing figures for a religion which not so many years ago was threatened with extinction. The awakening of Buddhism under a combination of influences constitutes one of the most significant phenomena in the religious history of modern Japan. There is evidence of this revival on many sides. The new literature of Buddhism for example, is impressive in quantity as well as quality. Recent years have also witnessed a notable expansion in the higher educational enterprises carried on by Buddhism. Modern, progressive scholarship is being stressed in Buddhist institutions, with the result that educated men no longer consider affiliation with Buddhism as a reflection on their intelligence.

Buddhism has also become interested in social work, and its adherents are entering all the varied fields of social and philanthropic endeavor. At the national conferences on social work, Buddhist priests and independent Buddhists play a leading part in the discussion and formulation of plans. At the Three Religions Conference held in Tokyo in 1928, Buddhist delegates predominated, and on social and international questions were generally in agreement with the Christian delegates.

AGAINST the 17,000,000 adherents of Shinto and the 48,000,000 Buddhists, stand 200,000 Christians. After 75 years of activity in Japan, conducted on a fairly imposing scale, the numerical strength of Christianity remains comparatively insignificant, and its ecclesiastical organization less vibrant with the spirit of true religion than could be desired. Against great odds, the odds of a deep-seated prejudice, Christianity came into Japan as a part of the irresistible current of Western ideas. Had it been able in the 80's and 90's of the last century to free itself from an impossible world view, and to express a measure of intellectual kinship with the scientific atmosphere that was beginning to pervade Japan, it is the belief of many that the history of Christianity in this country could have been written in very different terms. The generally conservative theology of the missionaries made this impossible, and as a result Christianity was stigmatized as the enemy of science and of the scientific spirit at the very time when the Japanese people were inclined to view these as man's *summum bonum*. It was a grave handicap, for the opponents of Christianity could enforce their logic not only by referring to the missionaries but also by pointing to the conflict going on in the West where Christians were earnestly defending world views which to intelligent Japanese seemed both fantastic and ridiculous. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, Christianity has won a place of real influence in Japan, a statement which is sustained by Japanese interpreters who certainly cannot be charged with bias in its favor.

The indirect influence of Christianity has been one of its most eminent contributions. There are those who believe that history will record this as the chief mission of Christianity in Japan. For example the part Christianity has played in the education and liberation of women is unquestioned. Confucianism and Buddhism had both confirmed the inferior position of womanhood, and against this position Christianity not only preached its theories of personality but, what was perhaps of even greater effect, it carried on from the very beginning a program of education for girls and young women. The awakening and training of Japanese womanhood will therefore never find full explanation without taking into account the influence of Christianity.

The liberal wing of Christianity likewise played a

part in inspiring the organization of the present labor movement. From its inception to the present day, Christians and former Christians have had a fairly large share in this movement, so much so that a recent Japanese writer declares that this early connection of a number of Christians with the socialist and labor movements may partly explain the popular distrust of these movements as well as the suspicion with which they are regarded by officialdom.

FROM the beginning of the missionary movement, Christianity has been in more or less sharp conflict with prevailing moral practices in relation to the monogamic family, the institution of concubines, and other phases of the sex problem. It was a puritan Christianity that came to Japan, and its standards were strange and exotic when promulgated among people whose attitude toward sex was particularly unselfconscious. I am not willing at this point to affiliate myself with any theory of the superiority of the West to Japan in sex morality. Not a little of what has been said and written to prove this thesis appears unconvincing. The obvious fact is that both the West and Japan can profit enormously by moving in the direction of the Christian standard of sex morality. Men like Kagawa, the great Christian prophet, claim that Christianity has been influential in exalting the ideal of purity and of the monogamic family, in promoting the decline of the institution of concubines which has harassed the domestic felicity of Japan for generations, and in bringing about generally higher views of social morality.

The relation of foreign missions to Christianity in Japan is still a much discussed question. Signs are not wanting that the end of an era is at hand, the era in which missionaries played the role of originators and coöperators, and that a new era is already here in which missionaries will cheerfully accept the special tasks assigned them by their Japanese associates. Let no one fear lest this prove but another means of perpetuating the present situation. If realistically applied, this principle will doubtless bring revolutionary changes, including a rapid decrease in the present missionary staff. Whether missions, backed as they are by powerful organizations in the homeland, can adjust themselves to the requirements of the new situation before they stand in danger of hindering the progress of Christianity in Japan is a real question.

It is good psychology, both individual and national, to accept the thesis that the function of a foreign agency like a Christian mission is to build up an independent Church, and that done, to withdraw. Such a policy is particularly wise in dealing with a country like Japan which is conducting its own affairs in all other realms with persuasive evidence of ability to do so. The next step for missions in Japan is to accept the view that the task they set out to accomplish is done, and then offer to the Japanese Church whatever measure of coöperation it may request. These steps present problems with which it is the urgent duty of missionaries to deal, not cautiously and with obvious misgivings, but boldly and realistically.

Spoken of Trees

ALL their lives,
Straight trees bend
As if to point the way
Of sudden winds;
But they straighten
In calm.
I have known strong-willed men
Bent like trees
To circumstance,
Pointing down
Life's one-way road,
They seldom straightened,
Even in calm . . . .
"They were bent in growth."
Of some trees
I have heard this spoken.

J. GRAYDON JEFFRIES

From a woodcut by J. J. Lankes

Japan's Policy in Korea

SHERWOOD EDDY

LET us, as impartially and sympathetically as we can, seek to examine both the character of the Japanese administration and the case for the Koreans. The writer desires to preface this appraisal with a word of caution and apology. Where national feelings are so deeply involved any such statement will of necessity be resented by many in both nations. As an American, he writes with keen sympathy for his friends, the Koreans, in their natural and inevitable national aspirations. As an American also, he writes with growing admiration for the truly great people of Japan and with a sense of shame for the wrong done them in the *manner* of the exclusion of the Japanese in 1924 by our immigration act. He writes in the full confidence that this wrong will be righted and Japan placed on a basis of equality with other nations. Otherwise he would not feel justified in writing at all.

Korea, with an area of 85,228 square miles, is about as large as the mainland of Japan, the state of Minnesota, or two-thirds the size of the British Isles. Of its population of approximately 20,000,000, 83.3 per cent live by agriculture and forestry, and only 2.2 per cent by industry and commerce. During the twenty years of Japanese occupation, from 1910 to 1930, Japan has spent over $800,000,000, excluding military expenditure, for the development of Korea. The national debt has increased from $1,000,000 at the beginning of the Japanese protectorate, to $149,000,000 at the present time, which sum has been devoted to the almost unparalleled program of reforestation, the development of railways, ports, irrigation, subsidies to farmers and village associations, etc.

The trade of Korea has increased from $29,848,000 to $400,000,000 or more than thirteen-fold. During the first decade of Japanese rule the increase was greater than in the Philippines or any region in the Far East. Imports were augmented about ten-fold and exports multiplied more than twenty times. The budget increased from $24,370,500 to over $97,000,000, while the entire production of the peninsula rose from $200,000,000 to more than $1,000,000,000. In addition to agriculture, which expanded enormously, forestry, mining and fishery products increased from three to nine times, while the output of manufacturing rose from $7,500,000 to $172,000,000.

Thirty years ago, under Korea's own autocratic and corrupt administration, there were no railways, few roads and no modern industries. Today there are some two thousand miles of railway already in operation and almost as much more approved or in process of construction.

Taking into account all existing conditions, the Japanese administration seems to have been materially efficient in the highest degree, although the Koreans have not had an equal share in the measure of prosperity with the Japanese. On the moral and spiritual side the effect of the Japanese occupation has not been so good. This is admitted even by leading Japanese. Both drink and prostitution are licensed under the government and both have increased greatly. Opium, however, is outlawed. In an early treaty of 1876 the Japanese wisely inserted a provision which prohibited the importation of opium into Korea, thus passing on the boon which they themselves had enjoyed by the foresight of the American, Townsend Harris, at the time of the opening up of Japan.

The Korean Indictment

AFTER observing the undeniable and gratifying material advance of Chosen under Japanese rule, let us hear the Korean side of the case. We shall quote no one person but rather give a composite statement of the practically unanimous opinion of educated Koreans who passionately desire independence. These number probably ninety-nine per cent of the population. The remaining one per cent comprise those who are receiving material benefits of office or profit under Japanese rule and naturally, therefore, prefer the more efficient foreign control, as well as farmers, so poor and hard pressed in the struggle for existence that they are indifferent to political issues. The Koreans make a threefold indictment against Japanese rule.

There is, in the first place, the policy of assimilation or absorption of the Korean people. Japan, having modernized her own people in 1868 by militaristic methods, imagined she could Japanize the Koreans almost as easily. As a Japanese recently put it: "I can see only one end. This will take several generations, but it must come. The Korean people will be absorbed by the Japanese. They will talk our language, live our life, and be an integral part of us. There are two ways of colonial administration: One is to rule over people as aliens. This the English have done in India, and therefore, their Indian Empire cannot endure. India must pass out of England's rule. The second way is to absorb the people. This is what we shall do. We will teach them our language, establish our institutions and make them one with us."

The semi-official organ, the *Seoul Press,* in stating the policy of the Saito regime, says: "We will not

waver in our determination to Japanize the Korean people." The Japanese language is made the medium of instruction in the schools instead of Korean. A child may even be fined for talking his own language in the school yard. Koreans feel that their personality is being violated, that their history, culture, and traditions—all that makes them Koreans—will be eliminated. This they deeply resent. They no more desire to become Japanese than the Japanese would wish to become Koreans. A Japanese man informed the writer that his countrymen are now writing the Koreans' history for them and will then teach it in their schools. This shows a singular lack of understanding on the part of the ruling nation, for instead of conciliating the subjects it only increases their bitterness. Thus far at least, the policy of assimilation has been futile, and the most implacable enemies of the present regime are the Korean students in the government schools and those who study in Japan.

A DICTATORSHIP and autocratic rule by an alien power is the second indictment of the Koreans. They claim that the Japanese make their laws, appoint the officials, and naturally keep most of the lucrative and important offices for themselves. The early rule by the Japanese seems to have been particularly harsh and militaristic. Dr. Brunner tells us that during the first decade some sixty major changes of policy were put into effect, only to be revised after a year or two. Even now the prefect of police has unusual powers: "He issues permits for public gatherings, and attends them to censor the speeches and stop the meeting if he thinks the sentiments given utterance to are not in accord with what he imagines to be public policy; if he feels it to be necessary, he may arrest the speaker and detain him for examination." Although Viscount Saito and many of the higher officials are men of sympathy and understanding, all too many of the minor officials are unimaginative, harsh and unsympathetic, and they subject the Koreans to a thousand pin-pricks. And these under-officials are the only ones with whom the common people come in contact.

No Korean is allowed to criticize the government. If he sees his fellow-countrymen losing their farms and either speaks or writes urging them to hold their land, or to use their own goods, his utterance may be treated as seditious. Very little liberty is allowed the press. The three papers owned by Koreans have all in turn been suppressed, and one editor has served a term in prison.

The Korean, by nature more affectionate than the Japanese, could be won by a policy of conciliation, of justice and growing autonomy, but he will never accept methods of ruthless absorption or autocratic control.

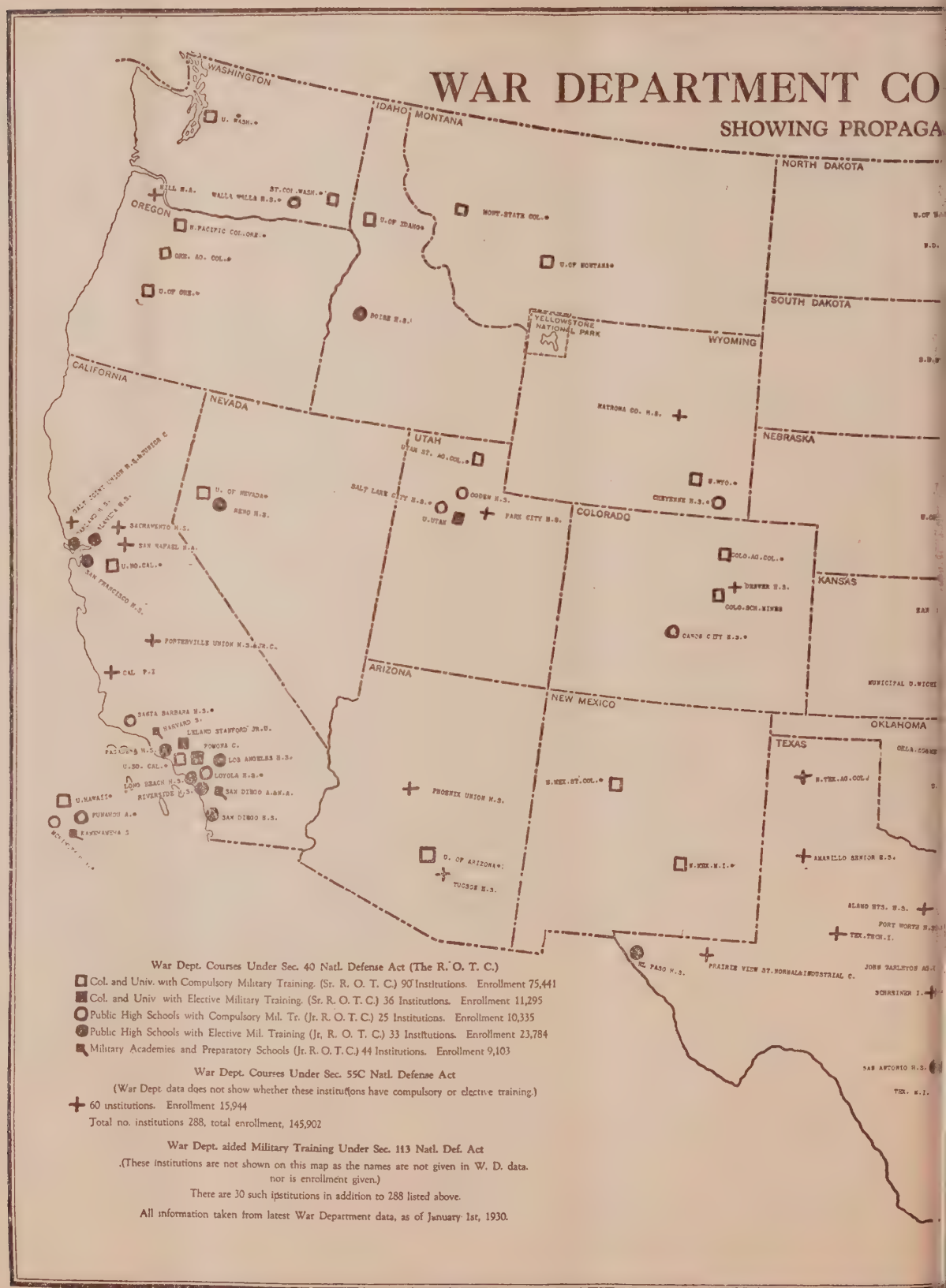
The Japanese are slowly perceiving this fact, and under the greater sympathy and understanding of Governor-General Saito some advance toward an initial measure of autonomy has been made. Out of thirteen provincial governors five are Koreans. In the Governor-General's cabinet there are one or two Korean heads of departments. All village headmen are Koreans, as are nine-tenths of the county magistrates. Viscount Saito now suggests a measure of local autonomy in designated areas and municipalities where the Japanese are numerous, and where councils will have some financial power. This should prove a wise measure.

IN the third place, the Koreans object to Japan's policy of economic discrimination of which they are the victims. Whatever the cause, the fact is incontrovertible that Koreans are rapidly losing their land. More than three-fourths of them must deal with landlords. The Japanese now own from 12 to 20 per cent of the land in the peninsula, and since the occupation less than 10,000 Japanese families have settled there. In the South about one-fourth of the land has passed out of the hands of Koreans. The latter complain that inducements are offered to Japanese settlers with long-term loans and easy payments, and that frequently several Koreans, whether as tenants or as holders of foreclosed mortgages, are evicted to make room for one Japanese.

Then, too, the Japanese have naturally monopolized a large part of the new trade and manufacture, assisted as they are by their law that a limited company must have Japanese representation on the directorate. Koreans maintain that every effort is made to reduce their country to a mere producer of raw materials for Japan and a consumer of the latter's manufactures, and that no encouragement whatever is given to Korea's homemade products. They believe that in practice there are two codes of law and of conduct—one for the Japanese, another for the Koreans. They particularly complain against the discriminations of the Oriental Development Company which is coming into possession of enormous holdings and resources, chiefly for the Japanese, and of the Bank of Chosen. The latter, they are convinced, operates for the exploitation rather than for the development of the Korean people. Said the president of the bank, speaking officially in Japan: "The Bank of Chosen was floated for the purpose of helping Japanese business interests expand in Chosen and Manchuria. . . . All this has been done out of a desire to do service to Japan's economic cause."

Japan's Future Policy

WHILE there are evidences of improvement in conditions, the Japanese and Koreans are still caught in a vicious circle of hostility. The policy of forcible absorption, autocratic rule and undoubted



War Dept. Courses Under Sec. 40 Natl. Defense Act (The R. O. T. C.)

- Col. and Univ. with Compulsory Military Training. (Sr. R. O. T. C.) 90 Institutions. Enrollment 75,441
- Col. and Univ with Elective Military Training. (Sr. R. O. T. C.) 36 Institutions. Enrollment 11,295
- Public High Schools with Compulsory Mil. Tr. (Jr. R. O. T. C.) 25 Institutions. Enrollment 10,335
- Public High Schools with Elective Mil. Training (Jr. R. O. T. C.) 33 Institutions. Enrollment 23,784
- Military Academies and Preparatory Schools (Jr. R. O. T. C.) 44 Institutions. Enrollment 9,103

War Dept. Courses Under Sec. 55C Natl. Defense Act

(War Dept. data does not show whether these institutions have compulsory or elective training.)

+ 60 institutions. Enrollment 15,944

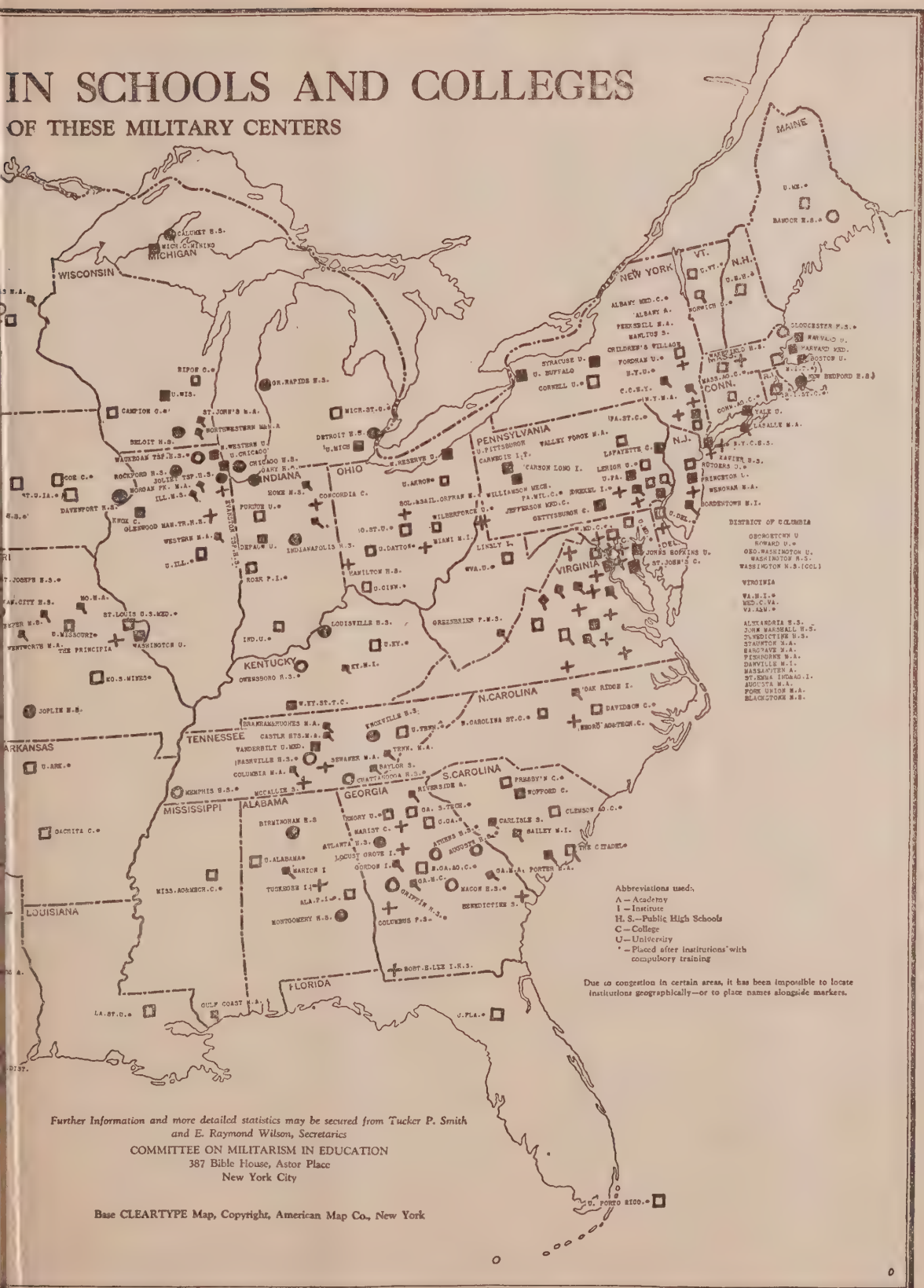
Total no. institutions 288, total enrollment, 145,902

War Dept. aided Military Training Under Sec. 113 Natl. Def. Act

(These institutions are not shown on this map as the names are not given in W. D. data. nor is enrollment given.)

There are 30 such institutions in addition to 288 listed above.

All information taken from latest War Department data, as of January 1st, 1930.



Further Information and more detailed statistics may be secured from Tucker P. Smith and E. Raymond Wilson, Secretaries

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION
387 Bible House, Astor Place
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economic discrimination drives nearly all self-respecting Koreans, including many of the ablest men, into sullen resentment or open antagonism toward Japan. As a result, the Japanese retort that Koreans cannot be trusted and must be dealt with by even stricter measures.

History would seem to indicate that the Koreans might respond to a more liberal policy of growing autonomy, first local, then provincial, and finally central. Koreans may well be associated with the Japanese in the higher and more responsible posts and increasingly trusted with larger powers. More important even than political autonomy will be cultural autonomy. The very word *Japanize* is poison to loyal Koreans. Instead of trying to force Japanese culture and standards upon them, the government should permit them to write their own history, preserve their own language, and protect the heritage of their own traditions. Let them also have economic autonomy without unjust discrimination. It should be a point of honor with the Japanese to protect Korea's holdings in land as well as her home industries and commerce.

Koreans should not be asked to abandon their hope of ultimate independence, nor should they be oppressed because of it. No self-respecting Korean, as no true Japanese, could hope for less. On the other hand, the Korean people should not hold themselves aloof and despise small beginnings. They can place no hope in the use of organized force against one of the strongest military powers in the world. They should, therefore, meet halfway every sincere effort on the part of the Japanese toward autonomy.

A NEW day will come for both Japan and Korea. The Philippines will probably gain their independence. India will eventually win self-determination either within or without the British Empire. A world conscience against the exploitation of one people by another is being created. Education and enlightened public opinion are everywhere fostering a new idealism, and the Japanese would hardly dare to educate the Koreans if they intended making them serfs or economic pawns in the game of their own imperialism. Much more important, a new and liberal Japan is arising which will before long speak out on behalf of Korea. Universal suffrage, the growth of organized labor, the probable development of proletarian parties, and the inculcation in the younger generation of ideals of economic justice and fair play—all these promise well for the future.

In the meantime the fate of Korea is in the hands of Japan. She can make her an embittered Ireland appealing to the world for redress against her oppressor, or she can make her a loyal, satisfied and prosperous Canada—a friendly ally in her hour of need.

Peace

FED by the countless bodies of the slain,
Out of the bones that crumbled into dust,
Catered to by the centuries of pain,
At last will climb the hardy flower of trust . . .
At last in every land forever freed,
Over all vanished battle-lines, will rise,
Cemented by a stronger force than greed,
Temples of peace to eavesdrop on the skies.
Nations, no longer by their own selves trapped,
Will learn how boundaries of all countries start
And end in love-degrees—how lands are mapped
Only by boundaries of the human heart;
How happy blood, that through each body sings,
Arises from the same, immortal springs.

LOUIS GINSBERG

Starry Carillon

I BUILT a bell-tower of the night
And heard the rhythmic serenade
Of nebula and satellite—
And oh, the magic chimes they played!

And oh, the major symphonies—
Orion's chant, the roar of Mars,
The ghostly harping Pleiades,
The silver music of the stars,

Till crashing through night's fragile shell
The flaming eagle that was dawn
Destroyed their singing citadel,
And all their melody was gone!

EARL D. TODD

Sonnet to an Ancient Prophet

PROPHET ISAIAH, who will comfort us
Today? Whom has God summoned in this hour
Of weary youth, of mouths too dolorous
For speech? Who is it lives in ancient power;
How shall the blind be made to see, the halt
To walk again? Who shall cast out the ills
That twist the crooked spine? Who shall exalt
The lofty valleys and lay low the hills?

Poets are prophets: they have power to heal
The broken spirit and the mute distress.
There are no secrets that we need reveal—
Our souls lie all exposed to gentleness.
To them, the inarticulate may speak
And we stand straight and strong, who were the weak.

JAMES MEAGHER

Some Aspects of Industrial Japan

TATSUNOSUKE UEDA

TO write a report upon the present economic condition of Japan would be to reproduce a cross-section of the world. In Japan as in other nations there is grave economic depression indicated by a persistent fall of prices, widespread industrial unrest, and a tremendous increase of unemployment. These are phenomena common to all industrial countries, but to Japan they come with redoubled intensity in the wake of her recent removal of the gold embargo—a measure which she had long owed it to herself to carry into effect. It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to make a statistical analysis of Japan's current economic problems, but rather to look at them against their broader social background.

Before doing this it is necessary to make clear just where Japan stands in her industrial development. The cardinal fact to be borne in mind is that our industrialism, like the rest of our modern institutons, is an exotic still in the process of assimilation. The Restoraton of 1868 was the greatest political change the country had ever experienced in that it transformed Japan from a feudal state into a modern economic power of the first rank. The ideal that inspired the patriotic young statesmen of that day was to have their country overtake the more advanced nations of the West, thereby safeguarding itself against the rising tide of nineteenth-century imperialism. The purpose of industrialism thus imported into Japan was naturally mercantilistic, every economic effort by the government being directed to the supreme end of state-formation. Herein lies the fundamental difference between Japanese industrialism and its western prototype which, born to the soil, has grown up after long centuries of evolution. The Japanese government of the early Meiji period performed by authority what in Europe and America the people had themselves naturally developed. This fact accounts for most of the characteristics of our present economic system.

TO great extent in Japan the captains of industry have been drawn from the government itself, with the result that no less than 27 per cent of our annual fiscal revenue is yielded by government enterprises. Their scope is fairly comprehensive, including railroads, postal, telegraph and telephone services, social insurance, iron works, tobacco, salt and camphor monopolies, etc. All of these are enormous business enterprises, having an aggregate capital of billions of *yen* and employing more than 10 per cent of the total population of factory workers in Japan.

It is worthy of note that in recent years the question of state-managed industries has come up for serious discussion and the government has announced its intention of considering through the Rationalization Bureau the possibility of transferring some of its enterprises to private management. The idea underlying the changed attitude is that private business is now sufficiently well developed to undertake the activities in question.

At the present moment one hears a great deal about "rationalization." It is as much in vogue now as the word "culture" was several years ago, and we hear of the rationalization of practically everything from industry to the institution of marriage. In the economic sphere the word has a great many different shades of meaning. It is associated with the lowering of cost by means of elimination of waste and by recourse to combinations of one kind or another for buying materials and selling the output. In June, 1930, the government created the Bureau of Rationalization in the Department of Commerce and Industry, the functions of which are to consider the question of transferring government enterprises to private management, in order to stimulate trade and to increase the efficiency of management. Schemes are also on foot to establish a bureau designed to promote rationalization by facilitating the financing of corporations.

Among the sufferers from this wave of rationalization are the merchants and producers of moderate means who, in the face of overwhelming competition from big business and large-scale industry, are struggling for their very existence. The importance of the problem may be realized when one considers that the lesser trades represent 80 per cent of the total volume of business and industry in Japan, and that under the existing condition of abnormal prices they are the hardest hit of all, being an intermediate class too numerous to combine for offensive or defensive purposes. For instance, shop-keepers in the cities are everywhere being pushed to the wall by department stores. The same condition applies to small manufacturers who are gradually being driven out of business by large-scale industry.

The same evil is at work with regard to associations of labor. Most Japanese employers still believe that the quasi-family relations of master and servant may be applied to modern industry. This is the so-called "warm feeling principle"—a sort of benevolent despotism—and its adherents have no patience or sympathy with measures which seek to safeguard or improve the condition of the working classes. In such circumstances the labor union movement has not made much headway. Out of an estimated working population of 5,400,000 only 330,000 belong to the 630 unions actually extant in Japan. The General Federa-

tion of Labor of Japan, with a total membership of 37,611, forms the right wing of the labor movement. The center is represented by the General Federation of Trade Unions with 7,100 members, active in and near Tokyo and Osaka. The left wing, not overly strong numerically, makes a poor showing since it is continually rent asunder by internal disruptions. Other powerful organizations are mostly moderate groups such as the Japan Seamen's Union, 82,000 strong, the only body of its kind with an international affiliation; the Federation of Workers in Government Enterprises, its membership numbering 14,042; and the Federation of Naval Workers with a membership of 42,942.

GENERALLY speaking, Japanese labor has a long way to travel before it can compare favorably with smilar movements abroad. At the recent general election, for example, labor cut a miserable figure, returning only five members to the Diet, three less than at the previous election. It is believed that the cause of its failure was a lack of unity among the different proletarian parties, each working independently of the rest. Fortunately, labor leaders have set about to form a union of their various elements, the outcome of which is the Zenkoku Taishuto or the National People's Party.

The labor union bill of the Social Bureau of the Home Department is at present a subject under heated discussion. It is to be submitted to the coming session of the Diet as the last of a long series of hitherto abortive attempts made over a period of ten years. The provisions of the bill are a decided improvement upon those previously recommended, but they are nevertheless adversely criticized by both capital and labor, and especially by business organizations all over the country. The latter are carrying on an active campaign against it. They accuse its defenders of radicalism which they declare will encourage the spirit of class struggle on the part of labor. Nor is the bill completely satisfactory to the workers themselves. They oppose, for instance, the provision on the status of legal person of a union, insisting upon recognition of existing labor unions as they are, without the complicated procedure required for the establishment of a legal person. They also demand legal recognition of the right to strike. They are firmly opposed to vesting the authority to dissolve labor unions in the sole hands of the Home Minster, asserting that their dissolution should be made possible only after a decision of the court. Altogether, comparing the proposed enactment with what England had years ago, its appearance now seems rather late in the day, serving only to bring into relief the backwardness of our industrial development and the immaturity of our experience as an industrial nation.

Unemployment in Japan is increasing by leaps and bounds. Unfortunately, in the absence of reliable statistics, we have no means of ascertaining its exact extent. The official figure is quoted as 370,000 but it is generally believed to be much higher. Perhaps one thing which will strike the American reader as strange is that in the present period of unemployment a large proportion of the jobless in the cities find refuge in the villages and small towns, resorting to the generosity of their relatives. According to offical reports, about 20,000 unemployed factory workers return to their native villages and farms each month, thereby placing a serious burden upon the already exhausted rural population. This fact has peculiar sociological interest for it confirms what have always been regarded as major instincts among the Japanese—family loyalty and local patriotism. To the Japanese the word *Kokyo* (one's native place) has an almost romantic appeal. This touch of humanity in the midst of dark hours of trial relieves somewhat the tension of a dismal situation.

Unquestionably, the economic problems with which Japan is afflicted today have grown out of her over zealous and too rapid efforts to transform herself into an industrial nation like her sister across the Pacific who first introduced her to the world.

Prosperity, 1930

TO have felt
The futile anger and the dull despair
Born of a moving belt
Anywhere
Is to have been dealt
A share.

To have tried
For happiness in industry,
For comfort and equality,
For peace inside;
To have desired tranquility
Is to have been denied.

To have clutched
At life and to have seen it torn away
Is to have watched
One say,
(one untouched)
"No—nothing today."

To be here
Is to have known
Hunger and cold
And the eternal torture rack, the fear
Of dying—old
And alone.

FREDERIC COVER

Clippings

Eventually, Why Not Now?

It is ridiculous to speak of unemployment as a necessary condition of human society. It is nothing more than a maladjustment of its machinery. It is a blot on our intelligence. It is a drain on our sympathy. It is a promoter of charity which affects disadvantageously both those who give and those who receive. Some day we shall learn to do better, but we must learn it soon.—*Owen D. Young, in an address in San Francisco, June 19, 1930.*

Fascist Issues Warning

The Germany I lead—the new and coming Germany, the young Germany—is certainly not guilty of that war, had nothing to do with making it, and upon Germany no amount of legislative acrobatics can morally place the slightest responsibility. That being the fact, this new and young Germany which I lead does not propose to be convict labor for its entire own generation and, in addition, bequeath to its children and children's children the Versailles treaty and Young plan, endless slavery, and the sentences of unfulfillable tribute paying.—*Adolf Hitler, quoted in The New York Times, October 4, 1930.*

Preserve for Next Campaign!

At last the Hoover political principles are too clear to be obscured by ambiguous language or to admit of misinterpretation by mistaken friends. No matter what his personal vagaries or variations, politically Mr. Hoover is dry, reactionary, high tariff, isolationist, and stand-pat Republican. . . . We sympathize with his former liberal friends who were unable to see the forest because of the trees. But we think that it is as clear now as it was two years ago that to be an engineer is not by itself a sufficient foundation on which to build a liberal, political philosophy. The events of the last two years have done for Mr. Hoover what the preceding twenty failed to do. So far as the country is concerned, all hope of liberal leadership from Mr. Hoover has disappeared.—*Editorial, The Outlook and Independent, August 20, 1930.*

Whichever Way the Wind Blows

The impression is now widespread that Mr. Hoover's devotion to prohibition is no more sincere than was that of his do-nothing predecessors. . . . The effect of all this, we repeat, has been to develop a political situation shot through with hypocrisy. The Eighteenth Amendment has never yet in its national aspect been in charge of its friends. Wilson vetoed the amendment. Harding was not its friend. Coolidge was indifferent to its fate and totally unaware of his responsibility. Hoover was expected to be its friend, but his political caution has paralyzed his leadership, and he stands like a sphinx watchfully waiting to see whether the onslaught of the wets, encouraged by his reticence, can break down the morale of dry opinion. If the drys can hold their lines without Mr. Hoover's help—well and good. If the wets can break through the dry lines, then Mr. Hoover will report to the nation that he has done his best but that prohibition is unenforceable; he is likely thereupon to suggest some modification.—*Editorial, The Christian Century, October 8, 1930.*

One Result of Nationalism

Frankly speaking, knowledge concerning Japan is sadly lacking in the West. To give an instance of many absurd questions put to me quite seriously by people in such cosmopolitan cities as London, Paris, Berlin and New York, unconscious of their guilt in not knowing enough—you may not believe how awkward I felt on being asked whether we have in Japan electric lamps, in the popularization of which, as you all know, Japan ranks first in the world.—*Tojiro Kurahashi, in Industrial Japan, 1929.*

The Other Side

Off the beaten track foreigners are frequently asked by the Japanese if in America or England there are such conveniences as electric lights, street cars and telephones.—*Roderick O. Matheson, in Current History, May, 1927.*

Fact Not Fiction

To talk war today is sheer fear, ignorance, and cowardice. Valor and honor and patriotism today are words of peace—peace on a commonsense, commercial basis. War is as outgrown as religious persecutions, trial by torture, smallpox epidemics, witch-burning, the divine rights of kings—and, incidentally, dear old ladies who still see themselves wiping the brows of noble young fighters in 1865.—*Kathleen Norris, in The Woman's Journal, September, 1930.*

Salvation by Blinders

Never before has there been such loud and boisterous whistling as we have passed through the dark lane of business decline. Editors and speakers have been encouraged to equip themselves with rose-colored spectacles and to give to all their utterances a joyous tone. It may be that at one time this well-organized cheerfulness materially lightened the burden, or at least diverted the minds of the people from the load they had to bear, but it is probable that any such effect has long since been spent and that today the depression of spirit not only corresponds to the depression of business but often exceeds it.—*National Industrial Conference Board News Release, October 5, 1930.*

Amos and Andy Vs. Higher Wages

When previously I wrote some impression of the South I had not heard of the textile corporation in Gastonia which proved that it had a heart by letting its workers off on the days when the mill worked fifteen minutes earlier so that they could get home to hear Amos and Andy. Who wouldn't gladly work ten, eleven or twelve hours for a company so generous as this? But what I should like to know is how many of the employees have radios on their low wages. I should also like respectfully to suggest that it is funny business for these Southern upholders of white supremacy to become so enthusiastic over imitation Negro comic philosophers. If Amos and Andy were really black—well, you finish that sentence yourself.—*Norman Thomas, in the League for Industrial News Service, October 1, 1930.*

A New Argentine

Buenos Aires, September 13, 1930.

"25 DE MAYO 1810
6 DE SEPTIEMBRE 1930"

SO read the placards on the automobiles, for a week ago today Argentina wrote another page in her history.

I have just come from the beautiful service in the Cathedral—a special mass said for those who gave their lives for their country. It was an impressive service and after it was over I left the Cathedral with the great throng of people and strolled across the famous Plaza de Mayo, past the Casa Rosada and on down the street to El Correo Central, the post office which was the chief scene in last Monday's attempt at counter revolution. And as I walked, I wondered whether I could put into words what it seems to me these last ten days have meant to this great country of the Argentine.

It is hard for an outsider to imagine the attitude of the people here for the old government. No one had the least respect for it; only those who were selfishly benefiting through it wanted Irigoyen to remain in power. Things had reached a point where the country felt disgraced. Not only were there countless incidents of graft, favoritism, misuse of national funds and all the other evils known to the political game, but there was absolutely nothing being done for the country. All the affairs of state were simply ignored. The president granted no one authority to proceed with anything in any department without his personal authorization and signature. The new government found 1,159 documents piled up and scattered about the president's office waiting his signature! Irigoyen spent his time giving away jobs—existing and non-existent—dismissing men of other parties in order that there might be more vacancies for his friends. A high salaried man would be replaced by several poorly paid ones, adding of course, that many more Irigoyenist supporters. While the inner circle grew wealthy the country was going bankrupt.

To what degree the president was aware that he was being used by his followers for their own ends no one knows. He thought to the very last that the people were with him. It seems impossible that he should not have known the feeling of the public, for all the newspapers were astonishingly outspoken in their criticism. Yet even after he had been asked to resign he refused, only at the very last turning the government over to the vice-president after he heard the army and navy had revolted. When finally he fled to La Plata, everyone deserted him; even his so-called friends disappeared. He is a strange figure, this man of more than eighty years, who once served his country with fair skill, and now, with his daughter and his doctor, is detained by the new government on board the warship "Belgrano." But his acts, whether of his own choice or at the instigation of his followers, brought the country to an impossible situation and something desperate had to be done.

Signs of fear on the part of the Irigoyen government were the first indication the public had that something unusual was about to happen. The guard was doubled about the president's house, machine guns were placed in the Casa Rosada and troops were ordered into the city. Yet there was no murmur of revolution. *La Nación* inquired editorally: "Let the government tell us why all these preparations. What is about to happen, or are they only afraid of their own shadow?"

The events of the last ten days followed rapidly. First the request by a group of prominent citizens for the president's resignation and his refusal; the student demonstration with another demand for Irigoyen's resignation during which a participant was shot by the police; public sentiment mounting higher and higher, the president placing the government in the hands of the vice-president who declared martial law; the arrival of the eventful September 6th, with airplanes dropping leaflets saying the army was on its way to redeem the country; the government given four hours in which to withdraw; the arrival of soldiers and volunteer forces in the city; the refusal of the vice-president to resign, later his capitulation; the celebration—a second Armistice Day in its joyousness; the proclaiming of Uriburu president; the appointment of the new ministers; the attempt at counter revolution; and finally the rapid return to normal conditions.

TODAY just one week after the advent of the new government, the country is, as they say here, *muy contento*—everything is tranquil. There has been a surprisingly small amount of vandalism. The symbols of power of the former government—the party headquarters and the two newspapers controlled by the president, his house (an old one in wretched condition hardly befitting the president of a great nation), the Confiteria del Molino from which guns were supposed to have been fired on the cadets—all these the crowd destroyed. But there was no attempt at looting; it was merely a destruction of that for which they had no respect and which they wished to obliterate.

This morning the soldiers and the naval cadets lined the plaza, and at eleven o'clock the governmental officials entered the Cathedral to pay homage

o those who had given their lives. Fortunately not a large number, but an unnecessary toll if the old government had been willing to recognize that the people of the nation had turned against it.

To many there has never been a day since May 25th, 1810, when Argentina declared her independence from the mother country, which was as significant as September 6th, 1930. Once more Argentina has a remarkable opportunity to take her place among the great nations. The provisional government, while a conservative one, has chosen ministers who are well equipped to carry responsibility. They are men of culture and family traditions, men who are willing, not for personal gain but for love of their country, to undertake the difficult task of setting the house of government in order. They desire they say, to be a government "of acts not words" and to practice "economy without avarice." They are facing a huge debt, complicated financial conditions, and inefficiency and disruption in all departments of state. Already there are evidences of change and reorganization. In the schools all those who have been appointed directors or sub-directors since January 1st, 1929, are to go back to their former positions. Departments not working on a budget system in the past have been ordered to submit estimates. Even a list of government-owned automobiles has been drawn up and those whose use cannot be justified are to be sold.

AMID all the rejoicing the voice of democracy and law is heard. Over and over again it is reiterated that revolution is not Argentina's way of carrying on government but that in the situation it appeared to be the only method. *La Nación,* which has been most outspoken in its condemnation of the old government, in an editorial the day after the revolution reiterated its belief in democracy and law. The Socialist Party, through its official organ, *La Vanguardia,* states that while everything in the recent revolution was contrary to its principles and ideals, the leaders are concerned that "the regime of violence be ended and the country returned to a state of reason and law."

The present provisional government declares that it is in power only until the affairs of state are in such a condition that it will be possible to hold a new election. Everyone believes this is true, for the men in power are men whose word can be trusted. The loan offered by the banks of the city, of one hundred million *pesos* at 5½ per cent, which was arranged within a few days after the revolution, was taken for 180 days. Whether this indicates the duration of the provisional government no one knows. If the people can remain unitedly behind the provisional government until the election it may mean the beginning of a new Argentine.

ANNE GUTHRIE

Is the Chinese Revolution a Myth?

Shanghai, September 2, 1930

IN a recent number of *Current History,* Mr. Hallett Abend writes: "The rest of the world will do well to discard the misleading term 'Chinese evolution' and substitute for it 'China's dissolution'; . . . a 'united China' is only an idea . . . . still credited (abroad) by the uninformed or by sentimental optimists who cling stubbornly to a belief which all existing facts prove fallacious."

Ostensibly Mr. Abend is right. China does present a deplorable picture. Famine, banditry, civil strife, and financial depression have conspired to make life miserable and to prepare the soil for communism. For anyone who is easily satisfied with what is apparent there can be but one conclusion: that China has gone to the dogs—a country so poverty-stricken and war-torn that it would be a kindness for external powers to intervene.

However, the story is not so simple. For almost two years China enjoyed peace under the apparently united rule of Nanking. But it would have been foolish to believe that the northern expedition which culminated in the capture of Peking in the spring of 1928 really brought about the unification of the country. Nothing showed this in more unmistakable terms than what happened at the disarmament conferences which met three times. No results were achieved; all the participants left disgruntled and determined to bide their time for another contest.

Here was Nanking's first stumbling-block and it required supernatural ability to remove it. Since the passing of the Manchurian regime, China has had no central authority. Yuan Shih Kai came within reach of it but finally failed in the effort. From that time on China has been virtually split into separate kingdoms each under military rule. These feudal groups are the first powers to reckon with in trying to evolve a united government. Two modern states have faced a similar situation and their success indicated the way —Germany and Japan. In each case ultimate unification of the country would have been impossible without the predominant power of one of the contending groups. In the case of Germany it was Prussia; and in Japan, the Imperial House. In the reforms of Meiji the Imperial House took upon itself all the powers which the Shogunate had been accustomed to exercise and placed the military chieftains in important and honorable positions. Nanking, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, tried to follow the same formula. Responsible posts were offered all the

leaders assembled at the conference table, and in return the government asked for a surrender of their military power. In theory this was perfectly sound. The different political potentates would be allowed to maintain their power and position, but for the sake of a united government the central authorities must be placed in a position where they could enforce law and order. This solution, however, was not accepted by the military chiefs and trouble began the very first days of the new government. Open conflict was only a question of time.

Communism is the second obstacle. Since the break with Borodin and his company in Hankow in the early part of 1927, Kuomintang has been the sworn enemy of the communist elements in the country. The atrocious affair of Nanking, immediately before the founding of the Nanking regime, is an outstanding example of the nefarious ways in which the communists wreak vengeance. One recalls, too, the episode in Canton when for three days and nights the communists looted and burned the city. The price China must pay for having once entered into an alliance with the Soviet only time can tell.

In its fight for unification and in its struggle to suppress communism the government has the wholehearted approval and support of the people. No more eloquent proof of this can be found than the fact that since the establishment of the government in Nanking the merchants and bankers have taken up in national bonds no less than four hundred million dollars in order to finance the government's campaigns against the communists and the rebellious military chiefs. The people have pinned their hope in the government and have given it full support. They long for peace and are willing to pay for it.

The third problem is that of the political system itself. The present government is founded upon the theory of party dictatorship which has caused much dissatisfaction. Interference with the administration is a common occurrence. Very often the heads of the party take the law into their own hands. Because of such irregularities the people have found the party an additional burden and groan under it. Among the intellectual classes there is resentment against the accepted theory that only party members are entitled to civic rights. No one who is not a party member can enjoy the common privileges of citizenship.

A corollary of this political theory is the prevailing intolerance of thought. A strict censorship deprives the people of all means of self-expression. There is neither freedom of speech nor freedom of the press. Such tyranny was unknown even in the worst days of the Peking regime. What it will lead to requires no great power of imagination. Discontent is rapidly fomenting and in some quarters open declarations of dissatisfaction have been made in spite of the censorship. A magazine entitled the *Crescent Moon* has been launched under the editorship of Hu Shih and an organization called the Alliance of Liberty, both dedicated to the cause of freedom. Even the church has sent a memorandum to the Ministry of Education demanding the right of religious education.

The Chinese government has many short-comings and has made some serious mistakes; but these should not blind us to the fact that in many ways it has made substantial progress—especially in public finance, codification of law, initiation of educational policies, and social reforms. The thing for us to remember is that the Chinese revolution is not a myth and that the government with the cooperation of the people is making stupendous efforts to bring about liberty and democracy.

L. T. CHEN

EDITORS' NOTE: *Since the above letter was written the Nanking Government has crushed the Northern coalition and is now probably more firmly established than any Chinese administration has been for many years.*

What Things Are Brittle?

WHAT things are brittle?
There are: glass—fine-spun—
And beads that crush between a thumb and finger.
There are: charred paper powdering with complaint,
And last year's dried leaves that linger.
Moods are often brittle, and they snap
And shatter into atoms of despair.
Dreams are brittle oftentimes, like candy;
Sweet, till dropped and crumbled without care.

HELEN MARING

Captivity

WHAT wild, torrential lion-longings pour
Behind those blinking eyes! What dreams of days
When swift rain pulled wet leaves down tangled ways—
Not straight, stiff shadow-bars across a floor!
What plots to match with blood man's age-long score!
What twitching muscle-memories of frays
Your fathers fought! And I who stand and gaze?
I too am caged. I grip bars as you roar.

But unlike yours my sires did more than fight.
One with blind eyes told stories that still shake
Their spears. One sang in jail. And one, through long,
Thick silence, transposed pain to music's might.
So I, an heir to victory, can make
My bars a harp for man's old triumph song.

HELEN MOLYNEAUX SALISBURY

Surveying Our Contemporaries

"Faithful Fess," by Ray T. Tucker; *Outlook and Independent,* September 10, 1930, pp. 43-45, 75, 76.

Attention is called to the fact that Senator Fess, the new Chairman of the Republican National Committee, ardently supported Coolidge, Willis and Hoover in turn during the last presidential campaign. Party loyalty is the god above all other gods for the Ohio Senator. A political fundamentalist of the most literalistic brand, he has rarely swerved from the path of devotion to the party. He voted against the Teapot Dome investigation. He urged the seating of Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois. He compared the "moral leadership" of Harding with that of Lincoln. Vociferous protests came from his lips when the suggestion was made that Hoover be included in the Harding Cabinet. Yet Simeon Davidson Fess was the personal choice of Herbert Hoover for Republican National Chairman.

"Shall Slavery Come South?" by Stringfellow Barr; *The Virginia Quarterly Review,* October, 1930, pp. 481-494.

The struggle between the planter and the industrialist in the South is illuminatingly set forth. The writer maintains that the evils of industrialism and wage-slavery can be averted only by the cultivation of the sense of social responsibility and by strict social regulation of industry. Continued emphasis upon low wages and anti-unionism can have no other end than hostility and social wreckage.

"Public Ownership of Electric Power," by Louis Waldman; *Current History,* October, 1930, pp. 18-22.

The Socialist candidate for Governor of New York sketches the increasing importance of electric power to the industries and households of America and points out the wastefulness and exploitation inherent in private ownership and operation. That substantial savings to the consumer are possible under public ownership is shown by comparative figures. Public regulation of private ownership is shown to be an inadequate solution of the problem. Encouragement is warranted by the 300 per cent increase in the number of municipal plants within twenty years.

"2,000 Years of World War Against the Jews," by Count Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi; *American Hebrew,* September 19, 1930, pp. 471, 513, 521.

Since the World War there has been a great influx of Eastern Jews into Central Europe, a problem that has given rise to an anti-Semitism as virulent in Germany today as it was in Russia before 1914. The writer deplores this revival of racial animosity, pointing out that though it has existed since ancient times, it has practically disappeared in all the leading nations of the earth. Nationalism has failed and mankind needs mediators and messengers of peace transcending all racial barriers. By tradition and temper and culture the Jews are peculiarly fitted for this task and the writer sees in Judaism the impulse toward a new internationalism.

"Which Road Are We Going?" by Hu Shih; *Pacific Affairs,* October, 1930, pp. 933-946.

The most brilliant of modern Chinese scholars lists as the five great enemies of China: poverty, disease, ignorance, corruption, disorder. He goes on record as opposing violent revolution as a way out, but emphasizes the need for a conscious revolution that makes full use of the world's science and knowledge. Not drifting nor blind revolution by violence, but unceasing revolution consciously directed.

"Progress of Social Insurance in America," by John B. Andrews; *American Labor Legislation Review,* September, 1930, pp. 317-324.

A review of the gains that have been made in protecting workers against the social evils resulting from industry. Since 1911 when the movement for social insurance was first agitated, many states have made progress in passing laws for workmens' compensation, mothers' pensions, old age pensions, and insurance for sickness and death. In one field alone—unemployment—has there been a lag. The author makes a plea for better employment statistics, intelligent advance planning of public works, and adequate federal-state employment offices.

"The Negro Faces the Machine," by Loren Miller; *Journal of Negro Life,* October, 1930, pp. 297-299.

The 400,000 Negroes who are jobless in this country are in part the victims of "technological unemployment"—that is, they have been displaced by new machines and as yet they cannot be absorbed into other occupations. Another cause of Negro unemployment is the tendency of white workers to invade occupations hitherto the sole province of Negroes. This leads to new friction between the races. The "Don't spend your money where you can't work" campaign as well as other efforts to encourage the Negro to go into business are, according to this writer, mere palliatives. Instead of internecine strife between blacks and whites bidding for jobs on the basis of color, there must come a class-consciousness which will reach across the color line and lead all workers to join forces against a common enemy.

"The Pacifist Bogey," by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley; *Harper's Magazine,* October, 1930, pp. 553-565.

After reviewing the Schwimmer and MacIntosh cases, the writer goes on to discuss the significance of denying citizenship in the United States to applicants who are unwilling to pledge themselves to bear arms or support the armed defense of this country. Attention is called to the fact that the State Department follows a more liberal policy and does not construe "the oath or affirmation of allegiance prescribed by the passport regulations as necessarily involving physical defense of the Constitution." Emphasis is placed upon the First Amendment and the unbroken tradition of religious freedom in our national history. Representative Griffin has introduced a bill in the House which would permit persons otherwise qualified to be admitted to citizenship even if they hold conscientious convictions against war. The suggestion is made that citizens bring pressure to bear upon Congress in support of this bill.

A Missionary Adventure

E. STANLEY JONES

TO those who are acquainted with the trend of things in India it is but a truism to say that Christianity will not win the soul of India unless it is more Christian and more Indian than it is at present. Up to this time the Christian Church in India has more or less faintly reflected the church life of the West.

The vast majority of the Indian Christian community have gone through our schools and have come out neither good Europeans nor good Indians. The fault for this can scarcely be blamed on anyone. The missionaries were not Indian and hence could not impart Indian culture. The converts who were for the most part from the low castes had no Indian culture. They loathed the idea of the culture from which they were escaping. They wanted to forget it, and semi-sahibhood seemed the open door of escape. But now sahibhood is fast losing its prestige in India. In South India there is a temple in which in the midst of the figures of the gods there is one of a European, hat and all! A European among the gods! That was placed there some time ago. Now he is not among the gods by any means. India is calling her sons back to her bosom. Not necessarily back to Hinduism, but to Indianism. And she is right. Her soul must be her own if she is to create. So the Indian Christian, shocked by the turn of affairs, stands hesitant. Which way will he go? He is hearing the call of India.

The Sat Tal Ashram has been established to help him hear that call and respond to it. For the European it was to be a place where he could get closer to the soul of India. This brings me to the meaning of the term Ashram. Its root idea in ancient India was a place of forest retreat where the teacher withdrew with his disciples to inculcate his teaching. They lived a life in common with simplicity and devotion as the chief characteristics. "Plain living and high thinking," is the usual expression used of this ideal. So in the Ashram we determined to live simply, wearing Indian dress and eating Indian food. The framework of our thinking must be as Indian as possible. As we expected to have Hindus join us, the food was vegetarian. For our meetings and meals we sat on mats on the floor, ate out of brass vessels, sang a Hindu grace set to a beautiful Sanskrit tune, left our sandals at the door, and tucked our feet up under us as we joined in meditation.

But we were not only to strive to be Indian, we were to try to discover more deeply the mind of Christ and to become more really Christian. The effort to be Indian has its advantages and it has distinct disadvantages. In becoming more sympathetic toward the East, and in trying to discover the good in India's past in order to preserve it, there is the constant pressure that we soften Christian distinctivenesses. The whole tendency in India is toward syncretism. Theosophy with its basis that all religions are at bottom the same and with its general loose thinking thrives in this atmosphere. There is a tendency for the sympathetic Christian to lose his evangelistic passion. To show both appreciation and appraisal is not easy but is very necessary. We cannot go back to unsympathetic, aloof attitudes that cut us off from the soul of the East. In doing this we may save our doctrines from contamination, but we save neither ourselves nor India. The way is not back but through—through sympathy to certainty. We can be teachable and yet have a message.

BEFORE we try to interpret its inner spirit, just a word about the body of the Ashram. We have come into possession of one of the most beautiful estates in the Himalayas. It consists of 400 acres of land, 14 cottages in addition to the central bungalow (in which the Ashram is located), a lake of its own, a church, and post office. Situated 4,800 feet above the sea, the estate is an ideal spot for our purposes. Instead of taking the usual vacation, the members spend it here. But our program is far from being the ordinary vacation. There is a real discipline running through it.

Let us look at a typical day as it was spent by the members. The rising bell sounded at five and we were all supposed to assemble by five-fifteen on our knoll under the pines for morning meditation and prayer. The breaking of dawn as we sat there very often came to us in more ways than one. After this we kept silence until the morning meal. Immediately after this we hurriedly swept our rooms and tidied them and then went out to share in some task, such as cutting wood, working in the garden or building walls. At eight o'clock we assembled for the first hour of study and group thinking. We sought out the good, the beautiful and the true.

After completing our morning study we ate our noon meal, and from then till evening we were free to pursue any line we might choose. At four-thirty we gathered for Indian music. At six we went to the lake-side for evening vesper devotions. The setting for this meeting was perfect and our hearts burned within us as we made our way through the Acts of the Apostles seeking to light our torches at their flame. We kept silence after this meeting till

the evening meal at eight o'clock, after which we read a book aloud and discussed it until bedtime.

These are the bones of the day. The living soul of it had to be felt. The mottoes on the wall of the Ashram reveal something of the spirit of the place: "Leave behind all class and race distinctions, ye that enter here". . . "There is no religion or philosophy possible where fear of consequences is a greater incentive than love of Truth." . . . "Sincerity, happiness and experience go a long way to create literature."

AT the door for all to read who come in, are the following excerpts from the *Spirit of the Ashram:*

"This Ashram is yours, and ours, and God's. It should therefore mean to you personal freedom, and all-inclusive brotherhood and a deep reverence.

"Here we shall endeavor to yoke the Indian spirit and the Christian spirit. To do this we shall have to have infinite patience with each other's weaknesses of thought and character, for we shall not find it easy to be either good Indians or good Christians. But both are sufficiently worth-while to call out our best.

"In the discussions we shall not strive to impose set views on the rest but to join in a common search to discover truth and reality, and to arrive, if possible, at a common mind.

"We shall remember that the group in the Ashram represents many types of minds and experience and that therefore there must be patience with and reverence for differing outlooks. It may be that those who differ from us most will have the most to teach us.

"Each will consider it his privilege to serve the rest, and will be eager to discover ways in which this may be done.

"Here we shall strive to make the best use of our time so that no one shall be unemployed and no one fruitlessly employed.

"Here we shall lay our problems, personal, social and national, before each other and before God and shall strive through prayer and meditation and group thinking to find a way out.

"Above all we shall here lay hold on divine resources for a closer-to-the-New-Testament type of personal and collective Christian living, so that in the trying but glorious days of adjustment that are ahead of us in the personal, social and national life of India we shall have somewhat to offer and to share."

AS we look back we feel that certain things stand out even in this beginning. We have now a place where year by year a picked group can, in unhurried quest, think through the problems of thought and life which face the growing Indian Church and can give guidance and direction for the future. We have already drawn up, in group conference a course for next year and are assigning lines of study. The prepared manuscripts will be discussed, criticized and amended by the group, and later they will be published as our Ashram volume. This year we will be content with a booklet.

Racial barriers have been transcended. Men of many races have lived together as brothers. An Englishman had the choice of having a room to himself or of sharing one with an Indian. He unhesitatingly chose to share the room with the Indian and said at the close of the summer how much richer he was for the companionship. I cannot remember a situation when I saw foreigners taking one side and Indians the other. We faced our problems as men and came to our conclusions apart from race. The best thing about it was that we found our brotherhood not by tabooing thorny subjects, but by facing them and thinking and praying our way through them.

Denominational unity was really accomplished. We had every type of mind from a High Church Anglican and a Syrian bishop to those of the Quaker outlook; yet at the close we felt we were literally one. We took communion from the hands of the Anglican and the Anglicans took it from the hands of the Free Churchmen. And there wasn't even a discussion about it, either before or afterwards, as far as I know. It seemed the natural, inevitable thing.

Many were spiritually transformed. "After two years of spiritual deadness and bankruptcy I have found what I came to get. Life is different." "It has meant to me a renewing of spiritual life and faith after a period of much strain and difficulty, and I trust it has made me more useable here in the work at the college." These are a few samples of the many.

At the close, after facing the finest and best that other ways have to offer we feel that in Jesus Christ we have something the world cannot do without. He touches us vitally and redemptively at every point of need and we believe that the world is not essentially different from us. In Christ we have something to share concerning which we need be neither hesitant nor apologetic.

(*From* The Fellowship, *Lucknow, India.*)

This Will Be Ours

FOR hope that leans into the wind, though beaten,
For days too much alike, and flames that light us
But intermittently—for walls unyielding,
This will be ours forever to requite us.
A shining door to close, and sit companioned
By silence, more articulate than sound,
That goes with us the farthest way a wing goes—
The deepest way of water underground.

JESSIE ST. JOHN

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Sexual Freedom or Slavery?

Yet despite the emotional earnestness of the Russian woman, the sex unconsciousness of the Russian people, the measures of self-discipline that are a part of the new education of Russian humanity, one cannot help wondering if the Russians are in danger of sinking into a morass of animality.—*Maurice Hindus, Humanity Uprooted, p. 99.*

Why?

. . . Down till the days of the French Revolution there had been very little in any country, or at any time, of self-conscious race feeling. . . . In our own time things are altogether different. The world is full of the rival pretensions and jarring claims of races. . . . National pride and a traditional rivalry more pervasive and more evident than before are tending to degenerate into international hatreds.—*Viscount Bryce, Race Sentiment as a Factor in History, pp. 25, 26.*

The Contentment of Gluttony

It is no doubt fairly easy to resist the temptation to covet one's neighbor's lands if one already possesses an abundance. But a study of the methods by which such abundance has been acquired is not calculated to induce meekness on the part of Japan or any other nation which came on the scene as a "great power" after "land-grabbing" had ceased to be the chief international pastime, merely because the land had all been grabbed.—*Warren S. Thompson, The Danger Spots in World Population, p. 315.*

Two-Way Traffic

What the commercial nations of the world need today more than anything else is to learn the old lesson all over again that trade, whether local, national or international, is nothing more or less than a process of barter, an exchange of goods—in other words, that it is a two-way traffic. . . . As long as the majority of us cling to the notion that imports affect us unfavorably and exports are a *conditio sine quo non* of our economic contentment, we will continue to have blind agitation for restrictive tariff measures.—*Dr. Neil Van Aken, Seventeenth National Foreign Trade Convention Report, Los Angeles, May 1930.*

Just Sixty Years Ago!

The following interesting account of this historic occasion appeared in a Tokyo daily, the Nichi Nichi Shimbun of September 6, 1872: "The opening ceremony of the railway between Tokyo and Yokohama, the first to be laid in this country, will be held in the presence of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor. By means of this railway, millions of people will enjoy the benefit of traveling the great distance of about twenty miles in only fifty-four minutes. The railway train will be as fast as the wind or a cloud. Without such a miraculous device it would be impossible for a human being to do a thing like this unless he possessed the wings of a bird, no matter how many millions he might spend."—*Hampei Nagao, The Railways of Japan, p. 5.*

Imperialists Take Note

No people who ever permitted its government to strip another people of its liberty ever saved its own.—*Sterling Edmunds, The Lawless Law of Nations, p. 1.*

An Ethic for Our Age

I am old now and near my death. It is nigh three-score years since I last heard him speak, but I still hear his voice, the beautiful voice reaching out of the darkness, "But I say unto you, Be kind and forgive. Seek no revenge, but love one another. Yea, never despairing, love even those who most bitterly wrong you."—*By an Unknown Disciple, p. 63.*

Social Democracy in Japan

The passport to schools and colleges of all kinds in that country is neither birth nor wealth, but only a brain and a character capable of taking advantage of them. Within the institutions, filled though they are with boys from many different social classes, there is a fine spirit of camaraderie and a complete absence of snobbishness.—*G. C. Allen, Modern Japan and Its Problem, p. 97.*

State Idolatry

On July 17th in the year 180, at Carthage, six Christians, three men and three women, stood before the judgment seat of proconsul Vigellius Saturninus. The charge against them was simply that they believed in the Galilean Christ. When adjured by Rome's all-powerful representative to "swear by the genius of our Lord the Emperor" and go free, Speratus, their spokesman, replied: "I recognize no empire of this present age. . . . I recognize as my Lord the King of Kings, and the Emperor of all peoples!" When did the followers of Jesus find a new allegiance?—*Samuel Dickey, The Constructive Revolution of Jesus, p. 114.*

Why This Callous Indifference?

Twenty-three years ago the late William Graham Sumner of Yale University wrote of lynching: "It would be a disgrace to us if amongst us men should burn a rattlesnake or a mad dog. The badness of the victim is not an element in the case at all. Torture and burning are forbidden, not because the victim is not bad enough, but because we are too good. . . . It is evident, however, that public opinion is not educated up to this level." More than two decades after Sumner wrote these words, public opinion on burnings and lynchings is not yet educated up to the level where such barbarities are impossible. The number of victims each year has sharply decreased, but the savagery with which the smaller number of victims are tortured by American mobs is proportionately greater than at the turn of the century . . . an uncomfortably large percentage of American citizens can read in their newspapers of the slow roasting alive of a human being in Mississippi and turn, promptly and with little thought, to the comic strip or sporting page. Thus has lynching become an almost integral part of our national folkways.—*Walter White, Rope and Faggot, pp. VII, VIII.*

Labor and the Richest Hill on Earth

CHARLES E. SEBOLD

BUTTE, MONTANA, is advertised to the world as being the richest hill on earth, and possibly it is, for its riches consist of ores of various inds, notably copper. It is also known as the world's argest mining camp, being practically controlled by he Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which em- loys approximately six thousand men. At one time hese miners enjoyed the best labor conditions to be ound anywhere—that is, up until the year 1917. The Butte Miners Union was one of the strongest of its ind in this country. But that day is past and now he miners find themselves in a sorry state. Their nion was broken completely, some years ago, by the narch of state troops into the city during a strike, lynching of one of the organizers, and the dynamit- ng of the miners' hall. A company union was sub- tituted for the old union, and today only three hun- red of the six thousand miners in the city of Butte elong to the local affiliated with the American Federa- ion of Labor.

Since the break-up of the miners' union the men ave been entirely at the mercy of the various com- anies. Their wages are cut automatically with the rop in the price of copper. During the past six nonths they have had two cuts, totaling seventy-five ents per day. In addition to the reduction in wages ame a cut in hours. The average working month of he miner in Butte at the present time is about twenty ays. Men working on leases or contract (this cor- esponds to the "piece-work" plan in the factories) re barely able to equal the day-rate. Working condi- ons are far from ideal and accidents occur almost aily. In addition, the miners must pay for their own ccident and health insurance through private com- anies who ask high premium rates. Altogether, the iners of the city find themselves in unfortunate straits nd without an organization to secure better condi- ons. They must starve or carry on as best they can ntil another war or a bull market raises the price of opper to new high levels, when they can once more ake a fair living.

FORTUNATELY for Butte, the miners form only half of the working population of the city. In ontrast, the other trades and crafts are strongly rganized, with a total union membership of more an eight thousand. Outside of the mining industry, utte is a "closed-shop" town. The men and women elonging to organized labor groups have so far suc- essfully protected themselves against low wages and oor working conditions.

In addition to labor unions the city has an associa- tion of employers, oranized principally for the purpose of handling all labor disputes between employer and employee. Agreements regarding wages and working conditions are reached by way of such negotiation between the Association and the union involved.

The present reduced schedule of wages and short- time employment among the six thousand miners, with its corresponding reduction in buying power, led the Employers' Association to attempt a similar reduction of wages among the eight thousand non-mining union employees in the city and thus equalize conditions. An opportunity presented itself in June of this year when the contracts with the various local unions expired. The Employers' Association brought in a man experi- enced in the doubtful art of breaking up unions. He was credited with having smashed organized labor in two of Montana's largest cities, Billings and Great Falls, (in spite of the fact that he himself was at one time a member in good standing of a labor union in Montana) and with introducing what he called the "American Plan" of employing labor. This is the well-known open-shop plan and has meant lower wages and longer hours for the workers in these two cities, with no proportionate decrease in the cost of living.

Three unions were involved in the strike and lock- out which followed—the teamsters, mechanics, and clerks. If this had been merely a matter of reducing wages and in turn the cost of living, the public might have been in sympathy with the employers. But such was not the case. The general impression was that the employers did not intend to pass this reduction on to the buying public. The new contracts submitted to the unions indicated that it was primarily an attempt to break up organized labor in the city. The secretary of the Employers' Association admitted that his sole purpose was to introduce the open-shop plan into Butte industries—as had already been done in the mining industry. The employees were willing to discuss an arbitrated wage-reduction, but the employers would only consent to an unqualified acceptance of the new contracts they offered.

THE methods used by the employers were interest- ing. In the first place, it is generally supposed that the press of the city is controlled by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The newspapers refused to print the employees' side of the story, continually stat- ing that the employees refused to take a wage cut and thereby aid in lowering the cost of living in Butte. They made the usual accusations against the striking men which, after careful investigation, were found to be false. They made charges of disorderly conduct

against the picketing teamsters who followed "unfair" trucks. The writer cruised about the city following such trucks and not once heard as much as a horn being blown to call attention to the scab driver. Yet these tales were printed daily.

The Employers' Association, not being able to gain the voluntary support of all its members, turned to the banks for aid in coercing such unwilling firms to fall in line with their plans. One baker, in order to save himself and his business, withdrew his checking account and placed it in a bank in a neighboring city so that he could carry on without being ruined financially. Another, a district gasoline dealer, was warned that if he signed with his truck drivers he would be forced out of business in the city. In spite of this threat, he took the first train into Butte and renewed his old contract with his men. Merchants were threatened with a withdrawal of credit if they kept their stores open with any other than scab labor. Many simply locked their doors because they could not operate without credit and would not operate with scab labor. It is interesting to know that the bank most actively involved was a "chain" bank, a member of a Minneapolis group.

An attempt was made to force merchants who remained "fair" to accept goods delivered by scab concerns. One grocer refused bread from an "unfair" bakery. On one occasion two men drove up with their bread truck and tried to make a delivery, even threatening to "fix" this grocer if he refused their bread. The grocer declared he would take no scab bread, and ordered them from his store.

DESPITE these coercive methods, the retailers of the city closed their stores rather than patronize unfair concerns. No one wanted to see the workingmen of Butte reduced to the condition of the miner, who, in spite of the fact that for the year ending December, 1929, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company made a net profit of $69,000,000, has the lowest daily wage scale of any male employee.

The whole effort of the Employers' Association could mean neither more nor less than a return to long hours and short pay. Business men and professional men were concerned, and the union had the sympathy of the majority of the citizens.

After three weeks of the strike, an arbitration committee was appointed, consisting of supposedly impartial, representative men none of whom was to be a member of either the Employers' Association or the union. But when it met, it was found that the secretary of the Employers' Association and the merchant who precipitated the lock-out of the clerks were both members of the committee. As might be expected, nothing came of the negotiations.

THE strikes and lock-out came at a fortunate tim for the employees. In the first place, they ha their backs to the wall. There was already too muc unemployment and wages were too low all over th country. They had nothing to lose and everything t gain. They realized that if they failed to win th fight all was lost so far as labor was concerned i Butte. And not only Butte would be affected but a the rest of the state and country, for if the unions coul be broken in the strongest union town in Montan they could be broken elsewhere.

In the second place, it was near election time, an labor controls more than half the votes of Butte. Th county attorney, the mayor, the city officials, up fo election or re-election, fell in line behind labor. Th chief of police, at the request of the striking teamster appointed these same teamsters as deputy police. Thi move, a novel one in dealing with strikes, proved t be the best way of handling a difficult situation. An act of violence would have forced the governor o Montana to comply with the request of the Employers Association for state troops. The business agent o the Teamsters' Union stated that there would be n violence on the part of the striking men. Violenc would, he knew, come from union sympathizers an paid agents of the Employers' Association, and fron such violence he wished the scabs protected. In askin that his men be appointed deputy police, he guarantee that the striking teamsters would protect scab driver from all violence and interference. His request wa granted and the plan worked successfully.

After the first arbitration efforts failed, a new com mittee was appointed, consisting this time of th officers of the Employers' Association and representa tives of the three unions involved. They met an remained in session until an agreement was reached The settlement was made Sunday morning, June 27th The union members took the proposed cut in wage but retained all previous working conditions held unde the old contracts. All union members returned t work the following day. It was understood that n one was to be discharged or discriminated against because of participation in the strike.

The unions were not broken. As one of the officers of the Central Council remarked, "Even with the cut we have won, for we still have our organizations pro tected and when times improve we may perhaps regain the wages now lost."

Some Critics

SOME critics of the leopard never see
The graceful thing of quivering flesh and bone
That leaps with lightning-like agility—
Squinting they stare, and note the spots alone.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Liquor Problem

IN *Drink: Coercion or Control?,* Rheta Childe Dorr, well-known journalist and social investigator, has made a study of the liquor problem as it is being worked out in Canada and Europe, specially in Finland, the only other country, besides the United States, where prohibition is still in force.

Although she believes that prohibition has failed in America as in every country where it has been tried, the author adds: "Yet nowhere has that object—the social control of alcohol—been abandoned." She finds that while no two countries have adopted precisely the same system of liquor control (even the Canadian provinces) certain broad principles have been evolved on which a system of legislation is being constructed. She insists that Americans are not the only people who wish to be sober; the whole world passionately desires to abolish drunkenness and the evils of the liquor traffic.

Great Britain's experiments in liquor control are presented at some length "not because England has progressed farther . . . but because what England has done and is preparing to do have more practical value in the United States. Our background, our culture, our temperament are more British than Continental. . . . The British experiments are all based on one principle which appeals strongly to the American mind, namely, the consent of the governed."

While the book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to this perplexing subject, it does not go to the root of the problem. Mrs. Dorr regrets that President Hoover failed to appoint a commission for the study of prohibition apart from other aspects of law enforcement. For the sake of humanity, it is to be hoped her statement with reference to the President's Crime Commission is not correct. She writes: "But whatever subject they investigate the only one which will interest the mass of people will be prohibition. The only reports of public hearings which will be widely read will be those on prohibition enforcement. The subject takes precedence over all others in public interest."

Mrs. Dorr's closing paragraphs reads: "The change is surely coming, and when it comes, we shall see in this republic a reign of law and order substituted for the one we have lived under for ten shameful years—the reign of gangsters, criminals, and creatures of the underworld, placed in power by forces of ignorance and mad fanaticism". This statement is strong evidence of the lack of knowledge of fundamental economics or the failure of the author to see that over-indulgence in liquor is only one of the many evil effects of an evil economic system. Mere regulation does not go far enough, and prohibition is only a palliative in the opinion of those who believe that our present defective economic system causes lack of self-control among those who lead such a drab existence and who have so few legitimate enthusiasms that they go in for harmful practices in order to get illegitimte enthusiasms (a bit of Nirvana), even though the after-effects are generally far from pleasant. (Published by Stokes. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.)

HOWARD S. ROSS.

Root of the Textile Strikes

AN admirable touchstone for those who are interested in getting at the truth about Southern textile conditions is *Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and their Villages.* Jennings J. Rhyne, the author, presents his findings as a sociologist who made a study of five hundred families in four types of mill villages in his native county of Gaston, N. C., over a period of years. Written before the outbreak of the 1929 strikes in Gastonia and Marion, it gives a dispassionate and detailed analysis of economic and social conditions of which the epidemic of strikes in the South was an almost inevitable result.

There are tables of comparative figures on wages, on housing conditions, on educational status, on religious preferences, on juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, and crime. More valuable even than the statistics is their interpretation and the citations of case material. These are sympathetically and vividly written. The concluding chapter, "The People and the Community," summarizes the attitudes of the families involved toward education, child labor, and trade unionism.

If Professor Rhyne, in his anxiety to keep himself and his views out of the book, leaves the reader wishing that he had given at least his own conclusions as to the solution of the Southern textile situation, he has by that same scrupulous modesty produced what amounts to a handbook for everyone, of whatever views, interested in this pressing problem. (Published by The University of North Carolina Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.)

HELEN G. NORTON

Who Wins and Preserves Liberty?

TWO books, appearing within a few months of each other, attack freedom of expression from widely different positions. In *Liberty* Everett Dean Martin has written as an intellectual about the world of thought. In *This Land of Liberty* Ernest Sutherland Bates, critic and observer, discusses the world of action. Mr. Martin roams the intellectual universe from Greece to modern America. Mr. Bates paints the American political scene in these years of repression and intolerance since the war.

To Mr. Martin, the great enemy of liberty is the crowd, the mob mind. Democracy is a tyrant. Revolutionary achievements —American, French and Russian—have merely put new crowds in power, exercising new tyrannies. The guardians of liberty are the few men, the intellectually ripe of all times and countries, who have written and spoken to guard culture against the passion of mobs and the tryanny of majorities. His treatment of liberty at once raises the issue as to whether the thinkers or the doers make history. Is liberty won in the library or on the barricades, in the cloister or in the forum? Since I am not like Mr. Martin a humanist, since I accept in general the thesis that liberty is the product of economic freedom, I part company with his whole treatment.

Mr. Bates, university professor, editor and war-time pacifist, has for the first time brought together in a single volume all the many-sided attacks on liberty in America today. In vivid, terse fashion he covers the war cases, the war on radicals, the lawless enforcement of prohibition, the professional patriots, our marines in the Caribbean, censorship, repression in the colleges and the third degree. His information is accurate, and reënforced with enough instances to give it color.

He spends little time on philosophy. What he gives us reflects the Jeffersonian view. I miss in him, as I do in Mr. Martin, the hard-headed grappling with economic realities which marks Professor Beard, or any Marxist. Thus the record of repression and intolerance since the war is not traced back to its real sources in the colossal concentration of industrial power in a few hands. As a comprehensive source-book of information on civil liberty today, this volume stands alone. It is the kind of thing to hand around to pep up the faithful and wake up the ignorant. (*Liberty,* published by W. W. Norton Co., $3.00. *This Land of Liberty,* published by Harpers, $3.00. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, postpaid.) ROGER N. BALDWIN

Two Englishmen on India

MR. THOMPSON and Colonel Osburn in their respective volumes emphasize different aspects of British rule in India. The former, writing as an apologist, addresses his words primarily to citizens of the United States, while the latter, adopting the tone of a relentless critic, makes an appeal to the governing class of his own land. In his earlier volume, *The Other Side of the Medal,* Mr. Thompson earned the right to be included in the list of Englishmen who are ruthless in portraying the failures and even crimes of their own people in dealing with India. In *Reconstructing India,* however, he is pleading for the Round Table Conference and selects his data accordingly. He takes the position that all parties in England are irrevocably committed to dominion status for India, "with the least delay that the situation will permit." Unless the last phrase is interpreted to mean slow stages requiring many decades before the goal is reached, it is difficult to believe that Mr. Thompson is correctly interpreting the vague words sometimes used by British officials. The Simon Commission Report, let it be remembered, does not even refer to dominion status and its recommendations fall leagues and leagues short of this objective. The author expresses his own opinion that a "ten years' delay is advisable before dominion status comes in every last detail." What he fails to state is that Mahatma Gandhi would eagerly have attended the Round Table Conference if Ramsay MacDonald had given assurance that the Conference is being called for the purpose of framing immediate dominion status, with adequate safeguards during the decade of transition. If the British Government intends to grant full dominion status within ten years, it has been criminally obscure in expressing its purpose.

In *Must England Lose India?* Colonel Osburn presents a stinging indictment of snobbery and race prejudice on the part of many of his countrymen in India. The numerous instances cited help to explain the burning resentment against British rule. It is significant, however, that in the writer's twelve "remedies and reflections," there is no reference whatever either to dominion status or independence. The menace of race prejudice and discrimination has rarely been presented more vividly than by Colonel Osburn. (Edward Thompson, *Reconstructing India,* published by Lincoln MacVeagh—The Dial Press, $4.00; Arthur Osburn, *Must England Lose India?* published by Knopf, $2.7[illegible] Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, postpaid.)

K. P.

The Poets' Cry for Peace

WHEN we say that Vincent G. Burns' anthology of poem[illegible] on war and peace is one of the "best buys" of many month[illegible] you will understand why if we add that *The Red Harvest* co[illegible] tains over four hundred pages, and that the compiler, besides wri[illegible] ing a moving and valuable introduction, has worked like a Troja[illegible] to give his readers something truly worth while for the sake of [illegible] cause in which he passionately believes. He has collected most o[illegible] the old favorites here, but he has brought in many a newcome[illegible] and withal, here is ammunition of a high emotional and artisti[illegible] intensity to use in the war against war.

It is no easy job to scour all promising periodicals and previou[illegible] volumes of verse for material of beauty and vigor, and if I d[illegible] not quite agree with the publishers that "Fustian of the oratorica[illegible] type has been taboo,"—completely—I do find it, to my eye and ea[illegible] reduced below the minimum achieved by the average editor o[illegible] social progress poetry. It is by all odds the best compilation o[illegible] verse for any liberal or radical cause that has come to my notice.

While it may not belong in a review, I cannot refrain from stat[illegible] ing that Vincent Burns, who is pastor of the Union Church a[illegible] Palisade, New Jersey, reads the verses splendidly, and will accep[illegible] engagements at forums, clubs, churches, etc., and in this way brin[illegible] to ear-minded people the strength of these crusading poems. (Pub[illegible] lished by Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Boo[illegible] Shop, $3.75 postpaid.)

D. A.

Sensational Statistics

DURING MARCH of this year the New York *Times* carried the report that the Russian government had offered for sale in England some textiles at 20 per cent below the *British production costs,* nevertheless earning a profit on them. The same story was cabled from Belgium in regard to matches.

News like this may seem unimportant to Wall Street—though it was a Wall Street man who pointed it out to me—and it receives little notice or comment in the press. In reality it is an occurrence of world-wide significance. If Russia can sell with profit at 20 per cent below the production cost—not the market price—of European countries, something is happening there which is of the highest importance.

This something is the elimination of the enormous profits of the few for the benefit of all. Coupled with that is the truly miraculous industrialization of the country. With the aid of the best engineering talent in the world, Russia is modernizing her production. Factories are sprouting like mushrooms. Thus the most efficient industrial machinery is being harnessed to a new economic theory, and the first results are seen in the examples from England and Belgium. In other words, Russia is demonstrating that with a different social philosophy it is possible to reduce the cost of everything by about half.

Intelligent observers, friendly and hostile, will do well to keep their eyes on this economic revolution. Such will welcome the work of Albert A. Johnson, *The Soviet Union at Work: Past—Present—Future.* This book is made up of 65 huge statistical charts dealing with all phases of Russian life from 1913 to 1933—the goal of the Five Year Plan.

Of the vast mass of interesting material available, a few samples must suffice. In 1913, 98 per cent of the people were deprived

of electoral rights; in 1929, 3.9 per cent in the villages and 6.7 per cent in the cities. Women, in 1929, made up 27 per cent of the municipal administration of the country. The working day for industrial laborers has slowly but steadily declined to 7.26 hours, while wages have risen sharply. The percentage of children of school age placed in schools is 100 in the cities and 79.3 in the villages.

The charts were prepared in Russia with the aid of about twenty leading economists, statisticians, and chart-makers. As charts they are a delight to the statistician. The facts they proclaim are truly sensational. (Published by A. A. Johnson and Associates. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $15.00 postpaid.)

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

One Good Book Deserves Another

SOME day a Negro may write a book forgetting altogether that he is a Negro and offering no explanations or excuses. There are many of us in this country who anxiously await the coming of such an event. This feeling on my part is inspired by the publishers' announcement that Charles S. Johnson's *The Negro in American Civilization* is "the most important study of the Negro in America ever made." This may be true, but it is also true that there is more of importance to be said than appears in the volume under review. As an illustration of what I mean, take Mr. Johnston's discussion of the Negro as a strikebreaker. On page 114 he says: "One source of hostility of white union workers to Negro workers is the fear of them as strikebreakers. But this hostility has little to do with the exclusion of Negroes from the unions of these lines. The fear is warranted, for not only is there a menace to union objectives in the availability of Negro workers, but it has so happened that many of the greatest advances which Negroes have made in industry—many of them first opportunities—are due to strikes and their part in breaking them." The author goes on to relate how Negroes broke the stockyards strike in Chicago, the steel strike in Pittsburgh, and the teamsters' strike in New York.

Now while all of this is brute fact, I nevertheless believe that it is more important for white labor to be made to understand that strikes and labor struggles cannot be won so long as Negroes are barred from the unions and white workers gorge themselves on race superiority nonsense and the evils of race mixture. Negroes, too, must learn to understand that in the long run—even though some of them are retained after a strike—strikebreaking is not a final or efficient solution to their economic and social problems. Our system of economic exploitation even in its mildest forms cannot be banished by changing the color of the exploited. A system that is bad will eventually be bad for Negroes and whites alike. The author admits that the white workers' fear of the Negro as a strikebreaker is warranted. Now it should be somebody's job to investigate this phase of race relations and write a book about it.

I do not intend the above remarks to be an adverse criticism of Mr. Johnson's really able, useful, and well documented volume. I simply insist that there are other legitimate ways of approaching the problem and other kinds of facts to be discovered and interpreted. And, finally, is there not some danger of over-elaboration of research and investigation in all of these very human problems? (Published by Henry Holt and Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $4.00 postpaid.)

ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Would You Be Happy?

BERTRAND RUSSELL who first achieved fame as a delver in the abstract brought his brilliant intellect to play upon social problems in the decade after the war and proved that he could write with simple charm as well as wisdom. More lately he has turned his attention to more personal problems. His new book, *The Conquest of Happiness,* is written in the same vein as his earlier *Education and the Good Life.* It has the same spirit of wisdom and the same iconoclasm manifested toward the sanctities and absurdities of the past. In it he gives some wholesome advice on curing envy, overcoming the fear of public opinion, developing affection, making work interesting and solving a multitude of other problems which affect the happiness of individuals. The book is a quintessence of modernity but, though the author has his own aberrations, a spirit of sanity pervades his writing for which one looks in vain among many of his disciples. There are, of course, some aspects of life which Mr. Russell cannot reach. Man's inner moral problem is disposed of in this fashion: "There is in the sense of sin something abject, something lacking in self-respect. No good was ever done to any one by loss of self-respect. The rational man will regard his own undesirable acts as he regards those of others, as acts produced by certain circumstances and to be avoided by a fuller realization that they are undesirable or, where this is possible, by avoidance of the circumstances which caused them. As a matter of fact the sense of sin, so far from being a cause of the good life, is quite the reverse. It makes a man unhappy and makes him feel inferior." It would be interesting to test that analysis upon, let us say, such a radiant personality as St. Francis of Assisi.

Mr. Russell's common sense advice will save many people from those acute forms of unhappiness which root in social and personal maladjustments. It will also tend to destroy the kind of radiance which does not derive from common sense at all but from devotions, aspirations, hopes and commitments which violate the canons of common sense. (Published by Horace Liveright. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.00 postpaid.)

R. N.

The Jew in America

IN the whole field of social and economic relationships the Jew has met with more sales resistance in this country, to use the lingo of the college-student-aluminum-cooking-utensil-representative, than has the non-Jew. Why? On the cover-jacket of this book—*Jewish Experiences in America,* by Bruno Lasker—a rabbi assures us that the subject provides interesting discussion material. Mr. Lasker does not disappoint his audience. With the rise of the curtain, after a short prologue, two fictitious characters in some lively conversation unfold the mystery of prejudice against the Jew. Then the author settles down to business and gives the point of the book: questions that are aimed to describe the situation in which the Jew finds himself in America, and queries that root at the cause. To stimulate informed discussion, there are well over a hundred pages of facts and opinions gleaned largely from the writings of a score of Jews. The volume closes with a reading list, methods, and attitude tests.

The objectivity of the book is demonstrated in that it sets out to propose no panacea, and in the selection of material the dice are not loaded. One illustration of this academic freedom is the variety of attitudes furnished on the disputed matter of cultural traits. "People say Jews have certain traits: what is true is that you can find any trait in any group." That is especially

valuable because it comes from Professor Drachsler after long studies in anthropology. Yet side by side with him is Herbert Adolphus Miller, a sociologist at Ohio State University, saying, "The Jew is introspective, analytical, aggressive, and conspicuous" —characteristics that "are primarily based on the nervous reactions which have resulted from longer and more varieties of oppression than those of any other group." Perhaps this indicates the levels which the social "sciences" have reached quite as much as it points to Mr. Lasker's rigid impartiality.

One puts the book down with a feeling that he has not finished with it. There is more probing to be done in reasoning out behavior patterns, more reflective contemplation necessary in exploring the perplexities of inter-cultural and intra-cultural groupings. Mr. Lasker has given us a volume for our shelf on human relations which will be useful for some time to come. (Published by The Inquiry. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.00 postpaid.) EVERETT R. CLINCHY

The Kyoto Conference Report

NOWHERE can the reader find more valuable information and stimulating suggestions concerning Manchuria, China, and Japan than is packed into the 700 pages of *Problems of the Pacific: 1929*, edited by J. B. Condliffe. The volume contains a skillful summary of the discussions at the Kyoto session of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as well as numerous documents and research studies covering special phases of the question under consideration. Primary attention is given to Manchuria, the cock-pit of Asia. One can scarcely speak too enthusiastically of the biennial conferences of the Institute and of the notable series of volumes which makes its findings available to a wider constituency. (Published by the University of Chicago Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $5.00 postpaid.) K. P.

Yet Another Symposium

THE reader who chooses his books by dipping into pages here and there is likely to err in his appraisal of *The New Generation,* this extraordinary collection edited by V. F. Calverton and Samuel D. Schmalhausen. He might begin with Bertrand Russell's analogy regarding the treatment of sex problems in institutions for the feeble-minded and insane: "One might as well have a law that only cheap cars could be repaired while expensive cars were to be whipped or treated by sermons from ministers of religion." Having thus acquired the notion that here is the "New Psychology" rampant, he turns a few pages and comes upon Langdon-Davies' protest against anti-savage education which is as yet far from civilized. "To learn arithmetic is not its own reward," says he. "It leads to the understanding of God and the universe by way of the Quantum Theory and Relativity, but it is no use telling a child that either."

At this point the reader may conclude that the book is merely a series of essays done in popular, provocative style by bright writers with somewhat adolescent minds. To test this hypothesis, let him open the book again to Terman's researches in the field of genius in children, or to Pintner's sane, scholarly, well-balanced review of intelligence testing. His appreciation now thoroughly alive, the dipper decides that here is a book worthy of serious attention. Then, alas, he hits upon the Schmalhausen dictum: "The family life is the cradle of incest. . . . I give it as my sober and most thoughtful judgment that an insane asylum is a place of peace and repose and sweet reasonableness compared with the institution of marriage as usually practiced. . . . Home Sweet Home is a Comedy of Terrors." Need any more be said? (Published by Macaulay. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $5.00 postpaid.) GOODWIN WATSON

The Galilean in Pittsburgh—Detroit

THE tragic contrast between conventional Christian morality in the United States and the religion of the Prophet of Nazareth has long been apparent. Never has this chasm been more vividly emphasized, however, than by Halford E. Luccock in *Jesus and the American Mind.* American traits, heritages and institutions are illuminatingly examined and evaluated. The mind of Jesus is interpreted in a fresh and convincing manner. Then "the religion of prosperity" and "the gospel of salesmanship" are set over against the relentless opposition of the early Christians to a pagan society. The chapter on "Jesus and a Hostile World" is especially stirring. Eloquent paragraphs remind us that "the New Testament church was fighting something," instead of compromising with the powers-that-be by assuring them that religion "is the guarantee of the continuance of the social order on which their prosperity depends," as was done by an American churchman.

If the reader has been irritated by the complacent identification of Jesus with modern business ethics by Bruce Barton and Roger Babson, he will welcome this realistic discussion as an antidote. Absorption of this book's message by Christian clergymen would put spiritual T. N. T. into their sermons. The religion of Jesus, far from being "an opium of the people," once "turned the world upside down." (Published by Abingdon Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.00 postpaid.) K. P.

Unifying the World

FOR four centuries our race has been engaged upon its most gigantic task: the conquest and unification of the earth. "Following the discovery of America," says Guglielmo Ferrero, author of *The Unity of the World,* "humanity commenced to take possession of the earth and to find its own way by various methods. . . . Gradually peoples, races, continents, learned to know themselves."

After contrasting Europe and China, Ferrero discusses the consequences of the shattering of European supremacy by the World War, the interpenetration of East and West, the enigma of Japan and what, if any, supremacy is to be expected in the future. There is an interesting chapter on "Negations of the World Unity" in which he compares the peace of the seas from the time when pirates ceased to infest the main until in 1914 when "in the twinkling of an eye the oceans were filled with dangers," upon which followed strange controversies between Great Britain, the United States and Germany regarding the rights of neutrals and the right of searching for contraband. "Before the War the oceans were secure. The world considered them to be a great highroad, accessible to all people under equal conditions. Today worry, fear, distrust are in the saddle. . . . The earth being a unity, the bond between continents and seas is indestructible. Without a law of the seas, dictated by accord or imposed by balance of forces, the freedom of continents is even threatened because continents can no longer do without the seas. This bond is perhaps the greatest revelation of the World War."

In his closing chapter, the author returns to his earlier statement of the requirements for World Unity when he speaks of

"marvellous synthesis made by Europe between the Greek t, the Roman spirit, and the Christian spirit." Man, being now to move himself from place to place, to familiarize him- with all the best that has been thought and said, to project pirit into the past, to know how all men speculate upon the re, and what are the best hopes and dearest wishes of the st of the race, is set free unless interrupted and corrupted ar, to bring to fruition those hopes. In the steady, continu- pressure of all the spiritual forces, all the intellectual ambi- , upon the evils which now beset our humanity, lies the hope World Unity. (Published by A. & C. Boni. Through The ld Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.)

CAROLINE B. LA MONTE

Lies and Hate

DUCATIONAL text-books are often used as channels for spreading false or distorted propaganda. Mr. Mark Starr gathered together a mass of evidence showing the extent to h education is prostituted to the creation of national hatred lass enmity. His book is well named *Lies and Hate in Edu- n.* Various chapters deal with the situation in England, ce, Germany, Russia, and other countries. This volume is an lent supplement to Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime.* It de- s a wide circulation. (Order from The Brookwood Labor ge, Katonah, N. Y., $1.25.) K. P.

Mr. Sinclair's Thirty-Fourth

CCORDING to the publisher's announcement *Mountain City* is Upton Sinclair's thirty-fourth book. One wishes he stopped at thirty-three, for this novel will add little to his ence either as a writer or a social propagandist. For material said to have utilized Children's Court records of Denver, ed to be the city in which the scene of his novel is laid. The retails the miraculous rise of one Jed Rusher from the rity and poverty of the sugar-beet fields to the opulence of il king. While still in his twenties, our hero accumulated ons, married a rich man's daughter, built a pretentious home e form of an "eight times enlarged Haddon Hall," and other- elbowed his way into affluence and power. The story is swift, able, and exciting. Beyond that there is little to be said for it. atire or as an indictment of the money-mania rampant in rican civilization, it is crude and obvious and cumbersome— uch so that it might well be used as a serious text for the rous "poor boy's chance" correspondence courses that decorate nside cover pages of our popular magazines. "Fifty millions e age of 30—How one man did it—You can do the same! n the attached coupon and mail today."

e background of the story is no doubt authentic, though Mr. air is manifestly less at home among the three and five-car ies than he is with the beet pickers. One's chief quarrel with ook is the pallid, lifeless puppets labelled characters. Unreal st to the point of grotesqueness, they serve merely as conveni- egs on which Mr. Sinclair hangs his customary fulmination st capitalism. To be sure, the author may have had no tion of composing a flesh and blood document; his entire con- may have been abstract polemic made palatable through a r of fiction. In that case comment is, of course, superfluous. on the part of Mr. Sinclair's wide audience there is a fer- hope that his thirty-fifth volume will mark a return to his r stride—to the excellence of *The Jungle, The Brass Check,* and *Boston.* (Published by A. and C. Boni. Through The d Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.) G. E. M.

WE RECOMMEND

The Bahai Peace Program. Bahai Publishing Committee. 47 pages. Paper, 50 cents; leather, $1.50. Selections from the writ- ings of the great-souled Abdul Baha, beautifully printed and bound, and stirring in their calm depths of insight and prophecy.

Communist and Coöperative Colonies, by Charles Gide. Thos. Y. Crowell. 222 pages. $250. An interesting description and in- terpretation of experiments in communal living from primitive times down to the present, including monastic communities, the Shakers, Dukhobors, Owenites, Zionists, etc.

That Devil Wilkes, by R. W. Postgate. Vanguard Press. 275 pages. $4.00. An attempt to rehabilitate an eighteenth century English radical who gave himself a black eye by his wild esca- pades. It was worth while to point out the work achieved by him.

Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine, by J. Reuben Clark. Government Printing Office, Washington. 238 pages. $.40. This is an extremely important statement by the Undersecretary of State. Mr. Clark draws a sharp contrast between the origi- nal Monroe Docrine and the Roosevelt corollary and makes it clear that the Monroe Doctrine does not obligate the United States to intervene in Latin America.

Behaviorism: A Symposium edited by William Peter King. Cokesbury Press. $2.25. A group of psychologists, sociologists, publicists, philosophers, and preachers analyze the errors of be- havioristic psychology. The leader of the phalanx is the re- doubtable and traditional foe of behaviorism, Professor Mc- Dougall. The essays are obviously of polemical intent, and the general argument is that a scientific method has erroneously been elaborated into a philosophy. The volume would have been improved by the inclusion of a larger number of psychologists of various schools.

British Industry Today, by Ben M. Selekman and Sylvia Kopald Selekman. Harper. 290 pages. $3.00. "Outside of Russia," these authors declare, "the curtain seems to be falling upon the Marxian orthodoxy." But what else, then, will point the way to economic change? Britain of all places occupies a command- ing interest. Here is a clearly, if hardly a brilliantly, written account of the many phases of capital-labor relations in Britain which gives a picture of the weaknesses as well as the strength of British Labor, and which, incidentally, goes far to explain why labor in England appears and is so conservative. Shop committees, unemployment insurance, and other social schemes are treated briefly.

Human Nature and Management, by Ordway Tead. McGraw Hill Book Co. $3.50. A clear and interesting discussion of the human elements involved in working with people, followed up with concrete examples of experiments in management which the author considers psychologically sound. The concluding chapter presents Mr. Tead's belief in "the democratic way of life" in a developing industrial and social order achieved by continuing the practical experience of finding self-expression through working together. Psychology, history and business experience which are cited bear out his conviction that the idea of the creativeness of doing the work of the world in a human way is not inimical to productivity and profits.

"Hey! Yellowbacks!" The War Diary of a Conscientious Objector. By Ernest L. Meyer. John Day Co. 209 pages. $2.00. The personal record of a C. O. twelve years later. The trials of an uncompromising political pacifist by his university, the army, and the government. Every pacifist—and militarist—ought to read this.

An East Side Epic: The Life and Work of Meyer London, by Harry Rogoff. Vanguard Press. 311 pages. $2.50. Meyer London was the first Socialist elected to Congress. His life was devoted to the East Side laborer, for whom he did much. The account of his Washington labors is highly illuminating.

Modern Political Constitutions, by C. F. Strong. Putnam. 385 pages. $3.50. Prefaced with an analysis and criticism of Greek political ideas, this volume considers and evaluates modern constitutions, including the many post-War changes, as to their apparent and real significance. It concludes with a chapter on the League of Nations.

The Old Time College President, by George P. Schmidt. Columbia University Press. 251 pages. $4.00. An important chapter in American social and educational history before 1860. The modern college and university president has a dozen functions rolled into one. The old college president exercised an enormous influence—for good and for bad. His role deserved this excellent study.

The Woman of Andros, by Thornton Wilder. Albert and Charles Boni. 162 pages. $2.50. Written with much beauty and fineness of touch, little plot and less characterization, this novel again handles the tragic side of life. One wonders whether Wilder will not soon find his real field in the essay where he need not trouble to search the annals of Peru or Greece for a flimsy plot.

Our Government, by James M. Cain. Knopf. 241 pages. $2.50. Satirical sketches on the workings of government in these United States which often come closer to the facts than the learned tomes of political scientists. The hardest blow is the verbatim inclusion of a portion of the *Congressional Record* which sounds exactly like the other burlesques.

Thoreau—Philosopher of Freedom, selected by James Mackaye. Vanguard Press. 288 pages. $3.00. The charter of modern freedom declares for the rights of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The practical achievement of this program has been beset with great difficulties, the understanding of which calls for the exercise of keen and intelligent thinking. For the terms liberty and equality have often, in their application, been virtually opposites. An emphasis on "liberty" has completely ignored "equality," while the search for "equality" has invariably brought abridgements of "liberty." None the less both of these fundamental concepts rightly continue in the forefront of progressive political and social thought, particularly in an age of military dictatorships and police terror. Thoreau, the "philosopher of freedom," needs to be supplemented by the doctrine of coöperation, but aside from that he is eminently useful in stiffening the backs of liberty-loving people everywhere against domineering militarists, opportunists, politicians, and the irresponsible police.

Walther Rathenau. His Life and His Works, by Count H. Kessler. Harcourt, Brace. 379 pages. $3.75. The sto the life, work, and intellectual development of one of the gre Germans of the post-War period.

The Story of Musa, by Mary Entrohistle. Friendship Press. pages. $1.00. A genuinely fetching tale for young chil from six to nine, of an Egyptian boy and his sister Fat Rattling good reading, yet full of the materials for wide youthful knowledge and good-will.

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CORRESPONDENC

Appreciation from Abroad

MAY I say that I very much appreciated THE WORLD MORROW. It has not only been most interesting but n stimulating. Your editorial notes are amongst the best tha have read, and your articles amongst the most informing; so m so, that even a busy man is compelled when once he takes up magazine to read it through.

House of Commons, London, England WALTER H. AYLE

A Wise Change of Mind

I HAVE only one reason for omitting my subscription— funds are low and I must narrow expenses. I hesitate good while about THE WORLD TOMORROW, for I value and en it very much. Here I stopped to read carefully the last numbe the September issue.

It is unusually excellent in content and point of view. It is spiring, in these days of so much loose, harmful writing, to r a group of articles so wholesome in suggestion and express

Altogether—I have decided to continue my subscription and some other place to cut down. Enclosed find check for $2

Los Angeles, Calif. LUELLA CLAY CARSO

Armament and Unemployment

IT may be that our government engineers or economists, under no circumstances party politicians, could be urged work out a formula or coefficient of relation between internati armament and international unemployment which will work v seismographic precision and go far toward solving the unemp ment problem.

No doubt the amount spent on armaments runs into many lions of dollars annually, decreasing by just so much the produc power of the world, not to speak of the outcome of such un ductive labor, in the form of high taxation and the destructio lives and property due to resulting wars.

What we really need is an International Bureau or Perma Congress, composed of trained economists whose task it would to determine the proper expenditure of this excess wealth. The come of proper distribution and application of this money, wasted with the approval of the people, would stimulate product raise standards of living, thus increasing the demand for more

on, and not only decrease but in all probability eliminate the nt unemployment problem. What we need is more homes, r homes, more adequate government and civic courage, but nore battleships, guns, or poison gas. Devote to practical the billions of dollars now wasted and there will be no such nployment problem.

Louis, Mo. FREDERICK E. KERN

Bigger and Better Marines

ERHAPS, Mr. Editor, you are hard up and are contemplating "joining the navy" and "seeing the world," or possibly Eccen- s is a bit weary of the metropolis and would feign see distant s and tropical isles. However, before either of you make any breaks toward joining the navy and especially the Marines, I upon you the perusal of this gem of military philosophy made Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler in an address entitled erican Marines in China," and reported verbatim in the als of the American Academy, vol. 144, July 1929, p. 128. t became our job then to see that not one hair of an rican's head was harmed, nor any of the Chinese heads either. ody shot—that was the slogan; to go through with this, live oreign soil, live in the territory of a friendly nation which sted our presence, and not fire a shot, and come away with good will. The situation was further complicated by the that the 5,600 Marines who went out there all went to do a f shooting. A man doesn't go into the Marine Corps for any ose in the world but killing, and our reputation has more or been founded on our success in spilling blood. I know that rtain parts of the world, women and children would run they see Marines coming along, even though they are on a eful mission, just as chickens run when a dog enters a chicken . They believe we're killers—and it is well for a nation to ort a few killers—if they act expertly, without involving the rnment."

eh, heh, heh! This joyful little statement of purpose and tation ought to cheer the souls of the members of the D. A. R. other organizations of the relatives of those who raised objec- to the high-handed but not so fiercely brutal tactics of the sh Redcoats at a time when the Declaration of Independence a bit more popular with at least a large minority of the rican people.

ours for a "bigger and better" Marine Corps ! !,

Minneapolis, Minn. HARVEY PINNEY

A Correction

N Page 405 of THE WORLD TOMORROW for October we pub- lished a quotation from an article by Charles A. Beard, as aring in Harper's, January, 1922. The date should have read *nary, 1929.*—THE EDITORS.

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The Last Page

NO, there is no escape. I knew well that the thump of the syncopated keyboard and the moan of the saxophone would greet us in Paris, Berlin, London, or Madrid. Yet off in the out-of-the-way corners, said I, it will be different. But although the lane to our *pension* is narrow and fronted by stone houses dating back many, many years; although the near-by region is so Breton that the natives do not even speak French, there is a wind of empire that blows hungrily from the coastline of America across all the world, and it has found us here. American popular music remains king of the universe, and the same rhythm that sways the devotees of Harlem's dim cafes catches up the habitant of Brittany, driving quite away from his mind the sour appeal of bagpipes or the lusty, swinging songs of the religious fêtes.

* * *

THERE isn't much to do around St. Jacut, so one works more than one had meant to, ooh, la, *la!* And one walks up to the town itself, each step a new sensation to the eyes and ears and nose. Here at last is a place where natives have few radios, where the noisome French cars rattle through a tortuous, macadamed way. If you dodge the cars, you are likely to run into something else: a motorcycle, four two-wheeled Breton donkey-carts, six gnome-like children in raincoats with peaked hats, seventeen dogs of assorted breeds if any, three pigs, a flock of geese, a garbage pail, a woman carrying a huge reed basket on her back, two peasants in *sabots,* an Englishman in plus fives, a stream of sink water conveniently thrown from the front door of a villa, five cats of varying sizes, and a priest in black flowing robes making his way at top speed on a shining bike with bell and coaster brake.

Some people might not like St. Jacut. Eccentricus does, from the station girl who never knows when trains go, to Madame of the *patisserie* who sings out her count of francs and centimes as she checks up on your extravagances and hands you back one-fifth of a cent. Too, Madame Louel, who tried to sell *Monsieur-et-Madame* every kind of basket that tourists usually want, but not *le vrai panier de pecheur,* the genuine fisherman's basket which nobody seemed to have except the genuine fishermen. It was a delight to watch Madame's distress change gradually to admiration as at length she promised, but certainly, to have a *vrai panier* at our command by the following day; and, but certainly, within five days she had placed in our itching palms a fireplace woodbasket the like of which we never saw elsewhere in real life or dreams, all for a price which would make a Woolworth's manager gasp with true concern.

Some people might not like St. Jacut. They might not get a kick, as does Eccentricus, from the shop which advertises as its offerings, "Coal and Cider", or the one which will sell "Articles for Baptism—Wines and Liquors". They might not like the salt meadows peopled with snails of every shape and hue, a spinning wheel in actual use beyond a mucky farmyard as viewed from a buzzing taxi, the railroad crossings managed by Breton women who close the gates eight minutes before the train arrives. But Eccentricus can renew the days of his New England boyhood when he went about on tin-can stilts as lads do here, where string portieres reveal the dining-rooms of middle-class homes, where glass-blowers' fantasies adorn walls and tabourettes, where fireplaces are boarded up whether surrounded by wood painted like marble or old stones of the thirteenth century—and where you can buy a paper for a cent. And if the wells *are* dug in barnyards and the chickens run free in the main square where the loudest hides behind a calvary and the *Bureau de la Poste* hides be the café, it is a step away from the remorseless wings of me which, inescapably at eventide, bear audible America to the reaches of the globe.

* * *

WE know now why we came to France. It was to s our resource with a foreign tongue. We have proved so much our mastery of the language as our total independ of it. We know that we are telepathic. No sooner had accosted the porters at Cherbourg than we rose to incred heights of communication. It is said that ants are able to c municate their wishes by rubbing their antennae together, but and our *facteur* never so much as rubbed languages. Once two trunks and seven bags were placed in a row on the tend lower deck, I, Eccentricus Nordicus Smith, drew myself up to full height (which is at least more than that of my wife, N mala), and with a sharp gaze transfixed our porter in the re of the numerals embroidered on the pocket of his blouse.

"Nous desirons," I began, whereupon *le facteur* nodded his h eight times in rapid succession, made a series of noises that soun like the pork section of the Chicago stockyards, waved a la square with his right hand and three small parallelopipeds v his left, and poured out a deluge of French which all but capsi the tender. As for me, I was simply paralyzed. But I am a coward. "We wish," I repeated, in my matchless pronunciat —which, I aver, has not been matched in my hearing since we foot on French soil—when once again our porter, with seriousn bent from the hips three times so rapidly that with my sea-w eyes I could scarcely follow. He rotated as he bowed. Whethe grew for a second giddy, or passed into a trance, I trow not; I am aware that suddenly, as by a miracle, I *knew.* As thro something in a glass, darkly, I saw that he was telling me, in simple Gallic way, that Monsieur was a scholar and a gentlem and of course was not, like the common rabble, eager to take boat train for Paris, but, rather, desired to undertake the peril adventure of going down the coast to Brittany, far off the m rail lines. He knew just what that meant. We learned it a by going 137 miles in ten and one-half hours. We learned t although a bus might go, since a bus had come, it might also w over until tomorrow, when it would go at a different time fr that advertised in all the timetables. We found that trains var in route and time of departure in geometric progression accord to the number of informants consulted. We knew that we w in for one grand journey; but we knew, too, that we were bey the need of words.

* * *

FURTHER and further has our telepathy developed. Ask man that owns one, says the well-known advertising slog but we don't need to. Three words, and the French know w we want. France is an affirmative country, with twenty *oui's* every *non.* Thus we have learned a cheery outlook on life, through the head of Eccentricus, as it reclines on the squ pillow while he tucks his feet beneath the great *edredon gonfl* runs the illuminating and prophetic saga of the little pig who w to market, and that one which went *oui, oui, oui, oui* all the w home.

And so, but certainly, I know I shall go likewise.

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